Monitored Mothering: The Experience of Mothers who Parent within New Zealand Women's Prisons

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ABSTRACT

While New Zealand previously allowed babies up to six months old to reside in prison with their mothers in self-care units, in 2008 the Corrections (Mothers with Babies) Amendment Act was introduced allowing children under the age of two to remain in their mother's care. This thesis offers an in-depth qualitative account of mothers' experiences both within the Mothers with Babies Units (MBU) in New Zealand women's prisons and their reintegration to their communities.

To build a picture of lived experience, I recorded the stories of mothers during their time in the MBU and post-release, and upon reintegration. In-depth interviewing, participant observation and extensive journaling was used to conduct this research. I undertook my fieldwork in Auckland Region Women's Correctional Facility, Christchurch Women's Prison, and within participant's communities between 2012 and 2015. As a social work researcher, I listened and gathered stories from women who lived within the MBU, observing the impact of this environment on the experiences of mothers both inside the unit and as they were released. This research offered an opportunity for incarcerated mothers to tell their stories as they understood them, and as they chose to speak about them at that point in time.

I gained a wide range of insights through this process of listening. I discovered how the prison nursery operated within a custodial context, which highlighted how these seemingly contradictory worlds of the nursery and prison interacted. I examined how the context of the MBU influenced the development of critical mother-child relationships, connectedness and bonding essential for wellbeing in the first years of life. I also considered mothers' experiences when they returned to their communities. Of interest was the inter-relatedness of systems and supports both within the prison environment and between the mother, family/whānau and community networks outside. The permeability of these system boundaries was also a notable insight.

As a key outcome from this research, I found the quality of these relationships to significantly contribute to a mother's well-being. I then used Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework as a foundation to examine and discuss these relational matters. Despite the growing rates of incarceration for women internationally, few studies have focused on the experience of motherhood within the prison. This thesis makes a significant contribution to the literature. It is a unique study offering empirical evidence of the experiences of New Zealand mothers who have their children living with them inside the prison. The findings from this research could be used to inform the development of mother and child-centred programmes and policies in New Zealand and internationally.

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1. SETTING THE SCENE

New Zealand has one of the highest global incarceration rates when compared to 31 jurisdictions in the Council of Europe (CoE), the United States, and Australia, at 219 prisoners per 100,000 people (Department of Corrections, 2018c). This compares negatively with Australia (162 per 100,000) and England / Wales (145 per 100,000 people). The impact of high incarceration rates has a significant influence on the functioning of communities, neighbourhoods, families and whānau (McIntosh & Workman, 2017). Forecasts estimate a prison population of over 12,000 by 2026 (Department of Corrections, 2017e). The number of women in prison has also rapidly increased, rising 40% between 2015 and 2017 (Department of Corrections, 2017e). As of March 2019, New Zealand held 729 women in prison out of a total prisoner population of 10,053 (Department of Corrections, 2019a). At this time, Māori represented 51.3 percent of the prison population (Department of Corrections, 2019a).[1] However, the Department of Corrections' 2017 Briefing to the Incoming Minister, highlighted that Māori women represented 63 percent of the female prisoner population (Department of Corrections, 2017e). This explains the ongoing focus from the government through targeted policy and legislation towards the issue.

Incarcerated mothers present unique issues for prison systems and correctional staff (Kanaboshi, Anderson & Sira, 2017). Many women in prison are mothers or caregivers to dependents, with limited work credentials or employment experience (Department of Corrections, 2017e). A mother's incarceration often results in additional stress to their families (Enos, 2001). In particular, the children of mothers in prison are recognised as being particularly vulnerable and at risk of disrupted attachment in their development (Byrne, Goshin & Blanchard-Lewis, 2014; Craig, 2009; Kanaboshi et al., 2017; Pösö, Enroos & Vierula, 2010). Furthermore, when in prison mothers must contend with the stigmatisation of failing normative socio-cultural expectations of motherhood (Snyder, Carlo, & Coats-Mullins, 2002).

[1] Māori are the officially recognised indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Few research studies have reported on the benefits of a mother and child remaining together in prison. What is available largely supports the success of facilitating post-incarceration reintegration through increasing mother-child attachment (Byrne, Goshin & Joestl, 2010; Carlson, 2001). A few studies illustrate how minimising mother-child distance or preventing separation when in prison increases the likelihood of a mother developing a secure attachment, thereby reducing their risk of reoffending (Byrne, 2010; Byrne, Goshin & Blanchard-Lewis, 2012, 2014; Carlson, 2001, 2009, 2018; Catan, 1992). Secure attachment is understood as a strong positive bond that develops between a child and their caregiver (Ainsworth, 1979).

However, this topic remains under-researched with little consensus in the literature as to best practice. Dwyer also notes significant methodological flaws in these limited studies (Dwyer, 2014). Most of the literature focuses predominantly on the children who have an incarcerated parent (Dallaire, 2007; Poehlmann, 2005a). The subjective experiences of mothers with their children in prison remains largely undocumented. Little is known about how mothers personally experience incarceration with their child, how the context of the MBU influences the developing mother-child relationship, and the long-term experience for a mother on release. Incarcerated mothers' stories of their hardships often go unacknowledged (Walsh & Crough, 2013). Therefore, this thesis explores these worthy stories of mothers within the Mother with Baby Units (MBU) in New Zealand women's prisons, and their experience of reintegration.

Framing this Research

In New Zealand, the MBU aims to provide a place for a mother and baby to be together, to support their attachment, and to facilitate the development of a relationship. As a mother myself, I was motivated to understand how an individual can parent within the confines of prison. From a social worker's perspective, I was interested in the development of mother-child bonds when incarcerated. Spending time in the MBU, listening to the stories of mothers, and maintaining this involvement as they reintegrated, I explored the influence of these early relationships on their experience, presenting an account of participants' voices. With

a concern for social justice, I was motivated to put their stories from their worlds as understood by them into words. To do this, I aimed to provide a full in-depth qualitative account with a clear focus on participants' stories. I did not look to further compare participants' accounts with other sources. However, I used Department of Corrections documentation on prison policy and practice throughout this thesis to understand the wider context within which the MBU is located. Comparisons between the mothers' stories were also used cautiously, although some commonalities were recognised. This study was purposeful and in-depth, with more than one interview conducted with each participant, in an effort to explore the breadth of their stories and document the mothers' personal experiences over time. I invited mothers to be open and direct, recognising participants' stories as individual and unique. Through the privilege of hearing these accounts, I gained insight into the unique journeys of mothers parenting in prison and their experiences on release.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research was to hear and document the experiences of women in the Mothers with Babies Unit while in the MBU, and to continue to engage with the mothers as they navigated resettlement back into their communities. This research identifies significant interpersonal and environmental factors associated with having their child remain with them in prison. It evaluates how these factors contributed to the development of a mother-child relationship and impacted both their long-term wellbeing.

The objectives of this research were:

- To provide an opportunity for mothers in the MBUs to share their experience within the unit and upon reintegration and resettlement back into their community.
- To consider themes from participant accounts to evaluate the impact of environmental, social and cultural influences on the lives of mothers who spend time with their child within an MBU.
- To consider factors that assist women in their reintegration.

- To highlight the potential benefits of the MBUs but also the areas requiring development in the provision for mothers with their children in prison. This will suggest further research for future policy and programme implementation.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to raise awareness of this population and strengthen the relationships of those involved in providing essential communities of care, to bring about better outcomes for imprisoned mothers and potentially the generation to follow.

Research Questions

In the initial stages when preparing this research, I developed sub-questions designed to focus on participants' accounts of how they experienced the MBU and the reintegration period. The emphasis of these initial questions was on the inter-play of relationships and the environment surrounding the mother and her child, and the impact of these on their experience of relationship building. These questions framed my more complete interview guide.

- How was involvement in the Mothers with Babies Unit experienced by the mothers as a result of the change in legislation allowing children to remain in prison with them until two years of age (Department of Corrections, 2008)?
- What aspects of the MBU environment influenced the development of a relationship between a mother and her child?
- How did mothers experience their transition back into the community and what aspects of their MBU experience influenced their reintegration?

Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter provides the foundation for this thesis. It outlines the purpose of this work, identifies the research questions, and details the theoretical, historical and political emergence of women's involvement in criminology and the criminal justice system over time. I also explore implications for

Māori and wāhine Māori against this historical landscape.[2] The thesis also explores the development of the MBU initiative by reference to the distinct rehabilitative focus currently pursued by the Department of Corrections. Having established the foundations this chapter leads into Chapter Two. This chapter presents the Literature Review, evaluating international and New Zealand-based research on prison nursery units and the underlying principles that inform these programmes. Chapter Three outlines the theoretical framework that supports this research. Feminist theory offers this research a theoretical perspective that informs all aspects of how this study was approached. Ecological systems theory emerged as a theoretical perspective guiding how this research was viewed and the data was understood. Along with a qualitative methodological approach, these theoretical perspectives are applied within a social constructionist framework. Chapter Four covers the research design, planning, data collection and qualitative methods used to conduct this research. In-depth interviews, participant observations and thematic analysis are explained.

Chapters Five to Seven present the findings of this research and develop the major themes from the analysis of the research data. Chapter Five, 'Monitored Mothering', emphasises issues of power and control and the dynamics experienced when parenting in a nursery that is situated within a correctional and custodial environment. Chapter Six, 'Child Centeredness', situates the mother and her child in the centre of this context and explores the influence of the prison environment on the development of their relationship. Chapter Seven 'From Confinement to the Community', focuses on how relationships between systems and supports both inside and outside of the prison have significant bearing on the reintegration experiences of some participants. Finally, Chapter Eight draws together the major themes that emerged from this research. A discussion of key recommendations concludes this last chapter. I suggest potential changes in the provision for mothers with babies in New Zealand women's prisons.

[2] Wāhine: women, female, lady, wife.

Women, Mothers and Crime: Theoretical, Historical and Political Accounts

Having identified the research objectives and questions, this introductory chapter now provides the contextual landscape for this inquiry. This review begins with the emergence of criminological theory referring back to recounting ideas and practices used in the 1700s. A historical account of women and children in prison follows, with a particular focus on the New Zealand context that illustrates how indigenous Māori and more specifically wāhine Māori became represented within the criminal justice system. Furthermore, I examine the chronological development of policy, leading to New Zealand's current political stance of allowing mothers and babies to remain together in prison. Legislation, policy, and models of practice are introduced to offer further background from which the current criminal justice system operates.

A Theoretical Account: Women and Crime

Ideas related to criminology can be traced back to the late 1700s, which was marked by a period of cruelty and torture towards offenders. Barbaric and severe punishments and dramatic executions were carried out in very public and open ways (Bradley & Walters, 2011; Gibson, 2011). This era set the foundation for the emergence of classical criminology, where legal reformers such as Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) fought for an equal system of justice for all members of society (Bradley & Walters, 2011; Frost, 2016; Hagan, 2011). A distinct shift in thinking followed this classicist period to a later positivist focus. Italian scholar Cesare Lombroso (1835-1928) proposed a person's propensity to commit a crime was determined by factors from within that individual— in other words, exclusively biological and beyond their control (Freedman, 1981; Hagan, 2011).

The introduction of other environmental and psychological influences towards theories of crime started to dilute the deterministic nature of this positivist way of thinking. Sociological theories emerged, igniting interest in the social and environmental causes of crime (Bradley & Walters, 2011; Hagan, 2011). The Chicago School pioneered the first major body of work in the 1920s and 1930s, taking an ecological approach to influences on crime through urban analysis (Bradley &

Walters, 2011). Members of the School believed the natural surroundings or community of a person influenced and shaped their behaviour. Naffine and Gale (1989) contributed to this literature by articulating sociological theories that pointed to the environment impacting on women's disposition to offend. Naffine and Gale argue that women on the margins of the economy contribute most to the population of female offenders, most notably "the unskilled, the unemployed and the underprivileged" (Naffine & Gale, 1989, p.145).

Feminist ideas regarding women and criminology started emerging in the 1960s and 1970s. This second-wave of feminism saw significant shifts in focus, from the politically motivated "suffragette" movement to research agendas looking at broader issues of structural disadvantage impacting on the marginalisation of women (Bradley & Walters, 2011; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Feminists here drew attention to the treatment of women within the criminal justice system, where their experience of criminal victimisation highlighted gender issues inherent in criminology (Bloom, Owen & Covington, 2004). Feminist analysis stressed how the discipline of criminology was founded on studies by men and about men (Bloom et al., 2004; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013; Naffine, 1997). Male theories of crime had developed based on observation of male samples, and unsurprisingly subsequent incarceration programmes and assessments gave little regard to the requirements of females (Ferraro & Moe, 2003). The rise of feminism invited a more critical, balanced and gender-sensitive approach towards women's' involvement with criminal justice (Bradley & Walters, 2011). A feminist lens started to be used to understand women's' involvement in crime through analysing issues of power, economics and politics and how these concepts influenced women's position in society (Bloom et al., 2004). A female offender's journey was recognised as unique and unable to be fully explained by mainstream criminological theories about men (Covington & Bloom, 2003). Although traditional criminological theory lacks a gender-specific consideration of women, more recently attention has been paid to the importance of gender-responsive strategies for understanding and explaining criminal behaviour (Bloom et al., 2004; Byrne & Howells, 2002; Covington & Bloom, 2003). The following

historical account illustrates the emergence of women's criminal justice involvement specific to the New Zealand context.

A Historical Account: New Zealand Women and Crime

Contemporary New Zealand penal policy dates back well over a hundred years and is largely based on the British penal system of the nineteenth century. Prior to British settlement, imprisonment was not used as a form of punishment in traditional Māori society (Clayworth, 2012). Customary Māori communal concepts of mana and tapu were very much recognized for the maintenance of law and order.[3] The Māori system involved matters being dealt with on the marae with the victim and their family central in the course of administering justice (Pratt, 1992).[4] This process was fully integrated into the life of the Māori community. Proceedings regarding perceived wrongdoing involved the wider whānau, with dispute resolutions potentially lasting for days (Pratt, 1992).[5] Compensation or utu was sought for certain infringements, and those more serious offences, such as violations of tapu, could demand death (Pratt, 1992).[6] This traditional process of justice significantly contrasted with the more formal administration of the British penal system that subsequently become part of New Zealand's official criminal justice system.

As colonisation progressed throughout the 19th century, Māori were generally only exposed to British systems of control when they were in areas of Pākehā settlement and therefore the number of Māori offenders was low (Clayworth, 2012).[7] As colonial settlers started arriving from 1840 and established new communities, notions of cultural and racial superiority were imposed, and ultimately British

[3] Mana: prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma. Tapu: to be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden.

[4] Marae: the open area in front of the meeting house where formal gatherings and discussions take place.

[5] Whānau: Extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.

[6] Utu: revenge, vengeance, retaliation, payback, retribution, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity - an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Māori society, whether through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups.

[7] Pākehā: New Zealander of European descent. Probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

common law was applied (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989). Colonisation rapidly progressed and laid the foundations of predominantly monocultural penal institutions where imprisonment was the primary method of punishment and social order. As the early settler state increased its control over various facets of life in New Zealand, this resulted in not only land disputes between Māori and settlers, but also a loss of Māori independence. One expression of this was Māori communities having British criminal justice policies enforced upon them (Riseborough, 2002). Historian Hazel Riseborough (2002) argues that the British invasion of Parihaka in 1881, a Māori community in the Taranaki region, was an attack demonstrating a particular show of dominance and superiority by the Europeans to destroy the Māori people's authority and prestige. A host of repressive penal policies specific to Māori swiftly followed with the imprisonment of large numbers of peaceful protestors in an attempt to keep Māori in prison. The legislation went so far as the West Coast Settlement (North Island) Act in 1880, widening the States power to arrest anyone even suspected of endangering the peace (Dick, 1981; Riseborough, 2002). Inevitably, Māori were drawn into the established British criminal justice system and judged under British common law rather than traditional Māori methods of punishment.

During these years of early British settlement (1840-1860), colonial ideals encouraged the housing of offenders with the first wooden-built facility in Dunedin in 1848. Gaols continued to develop and grew to become overcrowded and unhygienic facilities (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989; Dalley, 1993b; Torrance & Chisholm, 1908). Few women were imprisoned, and if they were it was usually for crimes of drunkenness, vagrancy or prostitution (Burnett, 1995; Locke, 1978). Women were judged on their moral character and expected to behave according to certain standards. Early attitudes were based on Victorian ideals of the virtuous female where domestic duties and the role of motherhood was the basis of being a reputable woman (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989). Prevailing ideology at the time categorised women into "good, bad, respectable and unrespectable" (Macdonald, 1990, p.177). Between 1880 and 1920, 70 percent of the population of women in prison were recidivist offenders, viewed as the lowest

class, irredeemable, undeserving and treated accordingly (Dalley, 1993a). Little regard was given to women and their position in society or the appropriateness of women's imprisonment. Limited statistical imprisonment information about incarcerated women or their children exists from this time (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989).

New Zealand's first Inspector of Prisons, Arthur Hume, furthered a punitive approach to imprisonment. Hume's first report in 1881 highlighted that the present conditions within New Zealand prisons were not making them "places to dread" (Hume, 1881, H-4, p.2). This shows clearly that deterrence and retribution, and not rehabilitation, were the aims of incarceration. For women, conditions for imprisonment were also poor. Separate facilities did not exist, with women and children frequently held in overcrowded cells (Burnett, 1995; Dalley, 1993b). Classification of women either by age or severity of the crime, as was used with men, was deemed unnecessary, as all incarcerated women were seen as so bad that they could not be made worse (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989).

After Hume's retirement, John Findlay, the Minister of Justice (1909-1911), became influential in prison reform at a time when social attitudes and theories were changing in line with the new penology. Prison reformer groups such as the National Council of Women (NCW) and the Christian Women's Temperance Union (CWTU) were actively advocating for prison to be a place that could cure inmates of their criminal ways, rather than simply act as a deterrent to committing crimes (Clayworth, 2012). Ideas about addressing offending were starting to move away from a punitive focus to potentially rehabilitating and reforming the offender (Pratt, 1992). Increased societal concern focused on the health and morality of the community. Findlay introduced a vision for developing a centralised separate prison for women, where an increased focus on instruction in motherhood and domestic science would be used as a means for reform (Dalley, 1993b; McKenzie, 2005). Findlay proposed to divide the site into a "reformatory for hopefuls", to improve and upskill women in housekeeping and domesticity, while continuing the "prison or penitentiary" as a place where punishment could continue for those considered beyond rehabilitation (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989, p.155).

Addington Prison, opened in 1913, was intended to fulfil Findlay's vision of a separate women's prison. However, it did not operate a system of prisoner classification; domestic science programmes were not offered, and the overcrowded conditions for women in this prison were not improved (Dalley, 1993b, McKenzie, 2005). However, provision for separate women's facilities did start to emerge throughout the 1900s with Pt Halswell in Wellington receiving women prisoners from 1920, Arohata Girls Borstal (becoming Arohata Women's Prison in 1987) opening later in 1944, and Mt Eden and Dunedin housing women in designated areas from 1950 (Dalley, 1993b; McKenzie, 2005).[8] Nevertheless, in contrast to men's facilities, women's prisons lacked resources and continued to use custodial management rather than the more modern rehabilitative approach (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989; McKenzie, 2005).

Questions about the effects of institutionalisation started to emerge, with philosophical shifts in thinking during the 1950s that did not rely so heavily on incarceration. Legislative changes, such as the Criminal Justice Act 1954, encouraged diversion of offenders away from criminal pathways to a more rehabilitative approach to penal policy. It also increased reliance on community-based sanctions through probation and shorter sentencing. The Criminal Justice Act 1985 attempted to place even greater emphasis on community involvement and non-custodial sentencing through periodic detention and community service. The influence of women's organisations as previously mentioned, and the women's liberation movement of the late twentieth century directed public attention towards the issues of women in prison. The second-wave feminist movement continued to cast women as an oppressed group and fought for women's rights in all areas. Women activists began to understand female crime as a response to structural inequality and social responsibility rather than a deficit of the individual (Naffine and Gale, 1989). Naffine and Gale (1989) emphasise how women commit what they term "survival crimes", including acts to support drug habits, to break away from a relationship of abuse (Fearn & Parker, 2004. p.34), or to commit property offences to support their

[8] Originally a military stockade, Mt Eden became Auckland's main facility housing prisoners from 1888. The original design of Mt Eden prison reflected the prevailing thinking of the time with surveillance and control ensured by Bentham's Panopticon prison design referred to in Chapter Three.

disadvantaged living conditions (Hannah-Moffat & Shaw, 2001). Hannah-Moffat & Shaw (2001) argue that crime is a gendered activity where "motivation for crime, the context of offending and access to criminal opportunities, as well as prison responses" are shaped by the circumstances of a woman's life (p.17).

Prison for Māori and Wāhine Māori

Consideration must also be given to the over-representation of Māori within the New Zealand criminal justice system with the notion of prison as primarily a Western construct discussed above. Jackson (1987-1988) referred to how colonisation resulted in a monocultural justice system becoming established in New Zealand, which did not take into consideration the partnership established between Māori and British Crown, outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi. The Waitangi Tribunal released a report in 2017, *Tu Mai te Rangi! Report on the Crown and Disproportionate Reoffending Rates*, which illustrated the reality of disproportionate rates of Māori incarceration. It states Māori men made up 50.4 percent of the total prison population, and Māori women 56.9 percent of female sentenced prisoners, despite Māori constituting only 15 percent of the national population (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). The impact of these high rates of imprisonment on the health and wellbeing of Māori communities highlights how "imprisonment has a ripple effect reaching far beyond the effects felt by those imprisoned" impacting on whānau, hapū and iwi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017, p.14).[9] The over-representation of Māori in prison statistics results in significant numbers of tamariki growing up in households without a parent (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017).[10] Māori in prison have on average 2.5 children, with families significantly disrupted when mothers are imprisoned as this often results in children being cared for by aunties or grandparents, with larger families becoming separated (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). According to the figures from the 2017 Waitangi Tribunal report, 10,000 Māori children were likely to have a parent in prison at that time.

[9] Hapū: kinship, clan, tribe or subtribe – section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. Iwi: extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.
[10] Tamariki: Children.

The implications of imprisonment are felt through generations of Māori whānau, with young people often witnessing family members incarcerated at an early age (Gordon, 2009). As the Waitangi Tribunal (2017) report stated, "the general acceptance of these statistics for such a long time has led to a normalising of Māori reoffending and imprisonment rates and the social consequences that arise" (p.14). Tracey McIntosh, in her conference presentation in 2017, hosted by the International Coalition for Children with Incarcerated Parents (INCCIP), asked the question "how are we as Māori able to provide a cultural solution to what is a structural problem?" McIntosh (2017) condemned prison as a harmful institution for Māori, normalising the system in the eyes of younger whānau. Within the criminal justice system, Māori experienced how "prevailing power relations facilitate the belittling of Māori identity, intrude on Māori rights, and diminish cultural integrity" (Brittain & Tuffin, 2017, p.99). Increased disconnection from communities, whānau and culture, and negative socioeconomic consequences have led to "trapped lifestyles" for Māori offenders and prisoners even after release (Durie, 2003, p.62). According to McIntosh (2017), prison is an ineffective justice system, incarcerating families and removing them from their communities. Brittain & Tuffin (2017) refer to being "locked in" to a system from which it is difficult to get out (p.103). However, what is evident is that connecting with culture through Māori providers and utilising Māori frameworks strengthens the individual in their determination not to return to prison (Brittain & Tuffin, 2017). The benefits found in identifying as Māori and developing cultural connectedness adds strength to the development of policy and delivery of services that engage with traditional kaupapa.[11]

A Political Account: New Zealand Social Policy Development

Understanding the development of New Zealand social policy is as relevant in framing the context of this research as it is in the previously outlined theoretical and historical accounts of women's involvement in criminal justice. Changes to policy undoubtedly impact on the economic and social positioning of those persons who are most vulnerable (Cunningham & Cunningham, 2017). Significantly, women in

[11] Kaupapa: topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative.

prison are typically of lower socio-economic backgrounds and face challenges when accessing and relying on welfare resources. The shaping of policy provision is likely to have a direct impact on the lives of participants.

Welfare ideologies and policy provision are socially constructed, and largely determine women's access to resources, inevitably changing to align with the prevailing dominant discourse (Lacey, 2008). In New Zealand, the state is the main provider and funder of social services, with the provision of welfare based on the core values, ideological assumptions and theories of those in authority (Stanley-Clarke, 2016). These philosophies inform politicians and governments in their decision making and approach to social policy (Cunningham & Cunningham, 2017; Miller, 2005; Skilling, 2016). As explained above, New Zealand's penal system emerged post-colonisation and continued to evolve depending on the social and political direction of the time. In this section, I aim to make transparent the influences that have shaped current social welfare policies that allow children to reside within New Zealand prisons.

New Zealand's early developments of extensive welfare provision such as the Old-Age Pension (1898), the Widows Pension (1911) and the Miners Pension (1915) earned New Zealand the reputation of being a "social welfare laboratory" (Lunt, 2009, p.3). Enhanced welfare provision continued with the first Labour government in 1935, which introduced free education and public healthcare (Lunt, 2009). After the Second World War, further expansion saw the emergence of what was referred to as the 'welfare state' (Lunt, 2009). The first National government in 1949 under the leadership of Prime Minister Sidney Holland maintained this provision of welfare. New Zealand went on to experience a steady rise in the standard of living, that Holland referred to as a "happier, healthier and more prosperous nation" (Sinclair, 2000, p.301). General stability and preservation of economic prosperity marked the political landscape of this time. This generous welfare system continued throughout the subsequent National and Labour governments of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

During the 1980s, a neo-liberal perspective on welfare provision started to dominate New Zealand's economic and social policies. This ideology emphasised economic

growth, development, and free market competition alongside an emphasis on individual responsibility and limiting state involvement in the support of families (Lunt, 2009; Wilson, 2015). Under the fourth Labour Government elected in 1984, Roger Douglas, the Minister of Finance, introduced a series of reforms that encouraged free market systems of economic development. The result was a growing inequality amongst citizens that was to become accepted by those in power as fundamental to society's success (Skilling, 2016; Wilson, 2015). Neo-liberal policies further dominated the 1990s as the fourth National government emphasised reduced dependency on the state. Policies were introduced to cut welfare benefits and include user-pays charges. Individualism and individual responsibility featured in this neo-liberal ideology that continued to widen the gap between the rich and the poor (Skilling, 2016). In contrast to the earlier years that provided a good standard of living and wellbeing, New Zealand experienced its biggest increase in income gaps in the two decades following the mid-1980s (Rashbrooke, 2014). Feminist researchers such as Sylvia Walby (2011) have criticised neo-liberalism as the driver of social, political and economic changes that increased gender inequality. Public policy ignoring the "realities of gender" meant women "disproportionately suffered from the impact of ill-informed policy" (Bloom et al., 2004, p.31).

The subsequent three terms of Helen Clark's Labour government from 1999-2008 returned somewhat to a focus on social cohesion over individualism, and emphasised equality and wellbeing in areas of health, housing and income support (Stanley-Clarke, 2016).[12] This had a direct effect on services available for women who were often the main recipients of welfare and caregivers for their children. However, New Zealand continued to face the challenge of providing suitable social welfare provision that was economically sustainable and acceptable to the general population (Miller, 2005). A minority government made up of the Māori Party, ACT, and United Future under John Key's National Party was formed in November 2008. This coalition reflected a pro-business conservatism that valued state and market forces, while emphasising traditional moral and family values with limited state

[12] Helen Clark was New Zealand's 37th Prime Minister from 1999-2008, leading the fifth Labour Government.

intervention (Cheyne, O'Brien & Belgrave, 2011). Government initiatives were shaped by the Better Public Service Targets (Social Services Commission, 2017) and the Social Investment Model (The Treasury, 2017), both aimed to improve social services.[13]

The coalition Labour-led government elected in 2017 introduced their own version to these policy frameworks of the previous administration. In May 2018, the Child Poverty Reduction legislation was introduced, resulting in the development of the Child Poverty Reduction Act 2018, and the Children's Amendment Act 2018, both intended to improve wellbeing and reduce poverty for children (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2019b). The Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy was also established as a requirement of this legislation, with aims to improve the wellbeing of children and youth, with particular emphasis on child poverty and those with greater needs (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2019a). The Ministerial Inquiry into mental health, and the introduction of the Families Package in 2018, indicated the important role of the family with early intervention highlighted to provide the best start in life for children (The Treasury, 2018). Furthermore, this government stated its intention to reduce incarceration rates by 30% over 15 years by addressing the causes of crime, reflected in policies for health, social development, education, housing and criminal justice (New Zealand Labour Party, 2017).

Introducing Children into Prison

Relevant to this research is legislative change that enabled children to remain with their mothers in prison. Prior to the late 1980s, New Zealand prison regulations gave little consideration to women who entered prison and had children in their care. Babies were discouraged to remain with their mother due to the unsuitable conditions, fear of criminal influence, and increased cost and disturbance to the system (Dalley, 1993b). Although Regulation 55 of the Penal Institution Regulations

[13] Better Public Service Targets (2012-2017) presented a model to New Zealand promoting government agencies working together with communities to provide better public services. The Social Investment Model, established in July 2015, had as its aim to increase government efficiency and reduce dependency on social services by helping those in need become more independent.

(1961), allowed babies born in prison to stay with their mother until they were six months old, little provision was made for them (Taylor, 1997). Pregnant women, or women with young children, were most often diverted from a custodial sentence or released before completing their time (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989). If the mother was imprisoned, the child would likely have been taken in by a relative, placed in foster care or put up for adoption, with little provision made for facilitating a mother-child relationship (Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System, 1989).

The 1989 Committee of Inquiry into the Prisons System acknowledged the importance of the primary caregiver role and addressed women's imprisonment. This report recommended children up to two years of age be allowed to reside in prison with their mothers. However, not until the early 1990s did conditions for mothers and babies start to change to allow incarcerated mothers to be with their children. By 2002, purpose-built units for bonding, breastfeeding and housing day visits for women and their babies were established in New Zealand's three women's prisons, Mt Eden, Arohata and Christchurch. The babies of eligible mothers were now allowed to reside with them in self-care units until the babies were six months old (Clayworth, 2012). Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility (ARWCF) was established in 2006 and followed this same policy.

Political interest continued as to the mother's role in the life of her child and the implications of nurturing and preserving these bonds and relationships. According to a report prepared for the Quaker United Nations Office in 2012, 47 percent of females in New Zealand were at the time caring for children prior to incarceration, compared to 26 percent of males. Furthermore, 35 percent of female prisoners were sole carers for their children compared to 12 percent of males (Robertson, 2012). When a father goes to prison, children most often remain in the care of their mother (Berry & Eigenberg, 2003; Ferraro & Moe, 2003). However, when a mother goes to prison, children are likely to be cared for by female relatives (Chesney-Lind & Brown, 2016; Ferraro & Moe, 2003; Sharp & Eriksen, 2003). Statistics such as these reaffirm the ideology of motherhood and society's gendered expectations of childcare being

the concern of the mother, generating serious implications for families when they face maternal imprisonment (Enos, 2001; Freitas, Inácio & Saavedra, 2016; Pollock, 2003).

In recognition of the role of the mother, the New Zealand parliament went on to pass the Corrections (Mothers and Babies) Amendment Act in 2008. This legislation was the result of a Private Members Bill introduced to parliament by Sue Bradford, who represented the Green Party from 1999 to 2009, and made provision for eligible mothers in prison to have their children under the age of two years remain in their care.[14] This amendment to the Corrections Act 2004 extended the previous age limit from six to nine months old and was universally supported at the time by most political parties. The change in legislation was framed as being in the best interests of the child by minimising the impact of parental incarceration through "bonding, feeding and maintaining continuity of care" (Department of Corrections, 2008, s.4). Establishing secure attachment for a mother and her child was also thought to reduce the likelihood of the mother re-offending (Department of Corrections, 2017a).

Women could apply for the MBU through completing an M.03.04.Form.01 Application for fulltime care of a child in a self-care unit (Appendix 1). The legislation outlined how eligible mothers may be considered for the MBU if they were the child's primary caregiver or likely to be on release, did not have a sexual or violent offending history against children, and agreed to substance abuse screening and a mental health assessment (Department of Corrections, 2008). Furthermore, the prison's Chief Executive must deem this placement to be in the best interests of the child for them to remain in the care of their mother. The legislation stipulated that a parenting agreement must be signed between the mother and the prison, highlighting what was required to remain in the MBU. The M.03.04.Form.02 Parenting Agreement (Appendix 2) included mothers acknowledging they had full responsibility for their child and were obliged to cover their child's associated costs, for example food, formula, and clothes. This agreement required mothers to

[14] The Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand is a left-wing political party.

participate in any specified programmes or parenting education. It further outlined that, as a result of any disciplinary offence where the mother's behaviour jeopardised the safe functioning of the unit, their child may be removed from the prison.

Although this legislation was passed in 2008, it was not until 2010 that prisons were able to accommodate mothers in suitably designated areas to house children. The MBU provided spaces resembling self-contained homes for a mother and her child to live independently. Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility provided two new purpose-built blocks away from the main prison to house six mothers and their children. Christchurch Women's Prison refurbished two self-care units to accommodate four mothers with children, and Arohata remained to house only those babies up until the age of nine months (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013). Through initiatives such as the MBU, the New Zealand Department of Corrections demonstrated its rehabilitative focus in designing intervention programmes with a view to offender release. However, offender rehabilitation continues to be a constant focus of debate for politicians and the public.

Rehabilitative Focus

As recognised in the Department of Corrections document, *Our approach to rehabilitation* (2014), providing suitable rehabilitation is critical for creating a pathway to change for offenders. Effective offender rehabilitation programming within the criminal justice sector acknowledges the principles of the Risk, Needs and Responsivity (RNR) model, proposed by Andrews and Bonta (2017). The ideology underpinning this model is that the design and delivery of intervention are specifically tailored to the individual (Andrews & Bonta, 2017; Andrews, Bonta & Hoge, 1990; Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Additionally, this model supports the integral positioning of the clinician in the course of the intervention, recognising the therapeutic relationship between corrections practitioner and offender as a key ingredient in the rehabilitative process (Andrews, Bonta & Hoge, 1990; Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2011; Dowden & Andrews, 2004).

Specialist units operating in certain prisons facilitate the Department of Corrections rehabilitative focus to address offending. Examples of these supported prison-based programmes are demonstrated in initiatives such as the Māori Focus Units (MFUs), Pacific Focus Units, self-care units, alcohol and drug treatment units, violence prevention unit Te Whare Manaakitanga at Rimutaka Prison, and Matapuna Special Treatment Unit in Christchurch Men's Prison (Department of Corrections, 2019c). In addition, Kia Marama at Rolleston Prison and Te Piriti at Auckland Prison both provide specialist rehabilitative programmes for child sex offenders (Anstiss, 2007). Many of these specialist units incorporate aspects of a Therapeutic Community (TC) as their rehabilitative approach, used by the Department of Corrections since 1989 when Kia Marama was established as the first specialist treatment programme for sex offenders (Department of Corrections, 2019c). Key tenets of the TC model emphasise community participation, self-help and mutual support to facilitate change (Gowing, Cooke, Biven & Watts, 2002; Matua Raki, 2012). Therapeutic informed community meetings between members of the group require staff, specialist staff, family/whānau, agency networks and the individual themselves to adopt a collaborative approach to invest in the individual's wellbeing (Gowing et al., 2002). Based on relationships and group interactions, the TC intends to provide a safe and supportive environment to encourage positive personal development (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010). Desistence from crime-related conduct is encouraged when the incarcerated can engage more with people around them by establishing pro-social relationships to support their reintegration (Edgar, Jacobson and Bigger, 2011). The TC is essentially a system encouraging the individual to develop self-determination and autonomy, vital to the development of reintegration success.

In a further effort to facilitate successful rehabilitation programmes, the Department of Corrections launched the Women's Strategy, Wāhine – E rere ana ki te Pae Hou 2017-2021 (Department of Corrections, 2017c). In recognising issues particular to women, this strategy aims to address the different needs and requirements in their treatment and management, acknowledging their different pathways into offending. In response to this, Kia Rite is a programme implemented to deliver a three-week

information and skills course to women, assisting them in navigating prison life (Morrison, Bevan & King, 2018). The focus of New Zealand's criminal justice system outlined in the above examples highlights the Department of Corrections commitment to rehabilitation with a view to reintegration. The MBU, as one such example of a specialist unit encouraging a rehabilitative approach—and the focus of this thesis—will be examined in context amongst the relevant New Zealand and international literature in Chapter Two.

2. PARENTING WITHIN A PRISON NURSERY

Literature Review

The practice of allowing mothers and their children to be together in prison has been widely documented for over a century. This chapter discusses the literature on this practice with a specific focus on how the maintenance of the mother-child relationship facilitates the critical development of 'secure attachment' (Carlson, 2018; Goshin & Byrne, 2009). Policymakers and researchers nevertheless recognize that children of prisoners are a particularly vulnerable group (Byrne et al., 2010; Craig, 2009; Gilad & Gat, 2013; Gordon, 2011; Pösö et al., 2010). Despite many countries with legislation allowing children to remain in prison (Bauer, 2019; Smith, 2014), debate exists over different procedures and practices. Limited research provides unclear guidelines as to how a criminal justice service might best provide for mothers and children (Herzog-Evans, 2013). There is little agreement on the appropriate age for children to stay in prison or under what conditions (Bauer, 2019; Gilad & Gat, 2013; Jiménez & Palacios, 2003; Martin, Lau & Salmon, 2013; Robertson, 2012). Although a woman's experience of prison life remains under-researched (Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2003), even less literature draws attention to the impact of this environment on the mother and baby.

Pregnancy is one of the most persuasive motivators for a mother to move towards pro-social behaviour (Farrall, 2004; Martin & Tole, 2017). Furthermore, a child remaining with their incarcerated mother provides a potential solution to a range of complications that may result from an otherwise disrupted attachment process. For the child these include social and emotional developmental delays, associated high rates of intergenerational criminality, drug and alcohol addictions and poor academic performance (Byrne et al., 2010; Dallaire, 2007; Hamper, 2014; Jbara, 2012; Poehlmann, 2005b). Alternative care arrangements outside of the prison are

also avoided as the prison nursery provides a practical solution when caregiving options are limited (Pösö et al., 2010).

Despite recognition that mothers and their children are a particularly vulnerable group, and also better understanding of the long-term consequences of disrupted attachment, published data on the outcomes of mothers released from prison nurseries is limited (Byrne et al., 2014; Carlson, 2009; Goshin, Byrne & Henninger, 2013). However, in this Literature Review, I identify three key principles that consistently appear in the existing research that reaffirm the importance of the providing prison nursery programmes. These principles—attachment, recidivism and the rights of the child—constitute the framework for this chapter. An understanding of the significance of attachment will inform the discussion of the first principle. Attachment development between a mother and child is a significant factor that intervenes in the inter-generational cycle of disorganised attachment (Baradon, Fonagy, Bland, Lénárd & Sleed, 2008). The second underlying principle supporting prison nursery programmes is reduced recidivism, which is a marker of programme success (Byrne et al., 2010; Goshin et al., 2013; Carlson, 2001, 2009; 2018; Staley, 2002). I will explore this post-release period in relation to the research reporting on the impact that prison nursery programmes have on rates of recidivism. The third principle will illustrate arguments in support of the constitutional right of the child to remain with their mother in prison, substantiated mainly in publications from the Quaker United Nations Office (Alejos, Brett & Zermatten, 2005; Robertson, 2008, 2012). There is however an alternative literature that argues that the best interests of the child are not fulfilled by having a baby reside with their mother in prison (Dwyer, 2014; Strickman, 2017).

Qualitative research reporting the lived experiences of mothers in prison nurseries are important but scarce. Of the few in-depth reports that do exist, somewhat limited accounts have emerged from the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Finland and Spain. Their findings are reviewed in this chapter. These qualitative studies had similar aims to this research: to provide a picture of the prison nursery experience from the perspective of the mother. However, I found many of them to be limited in the depth of individual account and extent of

individual experience detailed relative to what I want to provide in my research. As specific New Zealand-based research pertaining to mothers with children in prison is limited, literature that relates more broadly to New Zealand women in prison and their children is also discussed. In this chapter, I aim to provide a comprehensive account of prior research relating to prison nursery programmes by identifying and comparing the literature supporting the key principles I have identified: attachment, recidivism and rights of the child. This discussion will inform the aims of this research with its focus on the lived experiences of MBU mothers, and ultimately identify how the in-depth qualitative findings of this study may contribute to an existing body of knowledge.

Background to the Prison Nursery Programmes

The United States has a long history of "prison nurseries" where incarcerated mothers and their babies remain together. In certain states the presence of children in prison has been documented since the early 1800s (Craig, 2009). The oldest established unit specifically for housing women with babies opened in 1901 at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York (Craig, 2009; Dwyer, 2014; Pojman, 2001; Pollock, 2003; Women's Prison Association, 2009). Over time, prison nurseries became a common feature in prisons across America. However, by the 1970s a changing political climate of cost-cutting and increased awareness of children's rights saw every state apart from New York close their prison nurseries (Dwyer, 2014; Kauffman, 2001; Luther & Gregson, 2011).[15] More recently, in response to the dramatic rise in female incarceration rates in the early part of this century, and the subsequent impact of this on correctional and criminal justice services, a few of the former prison nursery programmes were reinstated (Craig, 2009; Goshin & Byrne, 2009). With only eight states offering a prison nursery to incarcerated mothers as of 2016 (Carlson, 2018), the United States is limited in being able to provide for the number of women who have children when they are incarcerated. Although other countries provide correctional facilities where a mother and child can remain together, America has produced most of the research on the outcomes of prison nursery programmes. A small amount of research on this topic is also available from

[15] Bedford Hills remained open.

the United Kingdom where Mother and Baby units in UK prisons were formally established in the 1960s. There are currently six Mother and Baby Units (MBU) across England and Wales, allowing a total of 64 places for mothers (Ministry of Justice, 2016).

As previously suggested, most support for these units focuses on the primary purpose of bonding and the risk that disrupted attachment will have a detrimental impact on the future development of the child (Campbell & Carlson, 2012). Other recognised potential benefits are reduced recidivism as a result of not being separated, as well as respecting the established right of the child to develop a relationship with their mother (Kanaboshi et al., 2017). The following sections will discuss these fundamental underlying principles of the prison nursery programmes.

Underlying Principles of Prison Nursery Programmes

Attachment, Bonding and Relationship Building

Research suggests attachment is a function of the relationship formed between a child and their primary caregiver (Perry, 2013). John Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980) and Mary Ainsworth (1979, 1989) have made considerable contributions to the field of child development. Bowlby's (1973, 2012) evolutionary theories proposed that attachment is an innate, universal system in the young. This ensured close proximity of the vulnerable infant to the protection and security of their caregiver (Rholes, Simpson, & Blakely, 1995). Dependency and attachment behaviours in infants are seen as natural, where the "seeking of physical closeness and comfort is normative and functional" (Sroufe, 2005, p.351). This innate need of the child to identify with one main attachment figure above others (providing a base to explore the world) happens at around six months of age and is typically with the mother (Bowlby, 1973). According to attachment theory, for attachment to develop functionally there are critical periods in the first year of life where exposure to specific positive and interactive bonding experiences must take place (Dawson, Ashman & Carver, 2000; Perry, 2013).

Behaviours such as smiling, laughing, singing, holding and any other positive physical contact are associated with neurochemical activity, facilitating normal organisation of brain systems responsible for attachment (Perry, 2013). Neurochemical connections form in the brain at an increased rate during the first three years of life (Dawson et al., 2000). Experiences throughout this time influence development and neurobiological changes that effect behavioural and physiological outcomes (Curley, Jensen, Mashoodh & Champagne, 2011). Consistency of a caregiver plays a vital part in establishing the child's sense of security (Cargo, 2016). Bowlby (1952) suggests irreversible long-term social and emotional consequences may result if maternal attachment is broken, interrupted, or fails to develop in these crucial early years.

The quality of this social environment and availability of primary caregiver therefore supports early brain growth and the subsequent development of attachment (Bowlby, 1988; Cargo, 2016; Curley et al., 2011; Dawson et al., 2000; Rholes et al., 1995; Simpson & Belsky, 2016). Ainsworth (1979) identified that a child's early experiences may result in the development of three main attachment styles, in response to their caregiver's availability, sensitivity and understanding of their needs. These attachment styles were secure, insecure-avoidant and insecure-ambivalent/resistant (Ainsworth, 1979). Belsky (1984, 1997) has been particularly concerned with parenting and its relationship to attachment security. Belsky notes that positive environmental conditions promoted greater attachment and security in the child. Insecure attachment patterns are the result of a child's defensive mechanism to cope with unresponsive caregivers or rejection (Kanaboshi et al., 2017; Weinfield, Sroufe, Egeland & Carlson, 2008). Exposure to unpredictable situations in the early years of life, correlate with an increase of anti-social behaviours in adolescence (Belsky, Schlomer & Ellis, 2012; Simpson, Vladas, I-Chun Kuo, Sung & Collins, 2012).

There is also a significant relationship between attachment styles in childhood and adulthood (Baradon et al., 2008; Rholes et al., 1995). According to theories of attachment, parents' relationships with their own children are influenced and determined by their own experiences of early relationships (Cargo, 2016; Rholes et al., 1995). These models of attachment lay the foundation for intergenerational

transmission linking adult attachment and parenting (Byrne et al., 2010; Rholes et al., 1995). The development of early relationships influences whether individuals view themselves as worthy of love and affection, and whether they view others as loving and affectionate (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). Cargo (2016) writes about these matters in her experience of Māori health, emphasising how relationships with our own children reflect how we were parented and our early experience of attachment.

The Corrections (Mothers with Babies) Amendment Act 2008 was legislation founded on principles of attachment, with "bonding, feeding, and maintaining continuity of care" the identified purpose for allowing children up to two years to remain in prison with their mother (Department of Corrections, 2008). In support of this, the World Health Organisation (WHO) promotes breastfeeding as the best method of infant feeding, where the first moments of a healthy post-birth experience encourage positive social interactions (World Health Organisation, 2009). Through breastfeeding, hormones are released influencing the development of warmth and love from the mother towards her child (Bowlby, 2005; Pollock, 2003). Lower rates of maternal depression were found in mothers who engaged in breastfeeding their children (Feldman & Eidelman, 2003). For the infant, developing an attachment appears to mitigate many potential adverse outcomes and facilitate positive future development, self-reliance and self-esteem (Carlson, 2009; Eloff & Moen, 2003; Goshin & Byrne, 2009; Women's Prison Association, 2009). Much of the literature highlights how the prison nursery provides the opportunity for a child to develop a relationship with their mother and the benefits associated with this.

Prison Nursery Research: Attachment

Dr. Mary Byrne is a dominant figure from the United States in this line of research, with the major contribution being her examination of the attachment of incarcerated women with their babies at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility and Taconic Correctional Facility. Both these facilities operated a prison nursery with similar policies, programmes and resources and were set within the New York State Department of Correctional Services (NYS DOCS) (Byrne et al., 2010; Byrne et al., 2014). A Children's Centre, contracted out to a Non-Government Organisation

(NGO), provided the mother and baby programme and nursery services (Prison Reform Trust, 2013). Prenatal and postnatal education was provided by experts in child development (Byrne et al., 2010). On-site day care facilities were provided, as women were required to attend classes, counselling and treatment programmes. Furthermore, an advocate worked with mothers to facilitate contact with outside family members (Goshin et al., 2013). The additional developmentally supportive nursing intervention that was part of this parenting programme was referred to as an example of best practice that continued for the first year after a mother's release (Byrne et al., 2010).

Byrne and colleagues (2010) conducted a five-year intervention study using the Strange Situation Procedure to identify the attachment style in 30 infants resident in the prison nursery.[16] Secure attachment was identified in 60 percent of the infants, with higher rates reflected in children who were in the prison nursery for a year or more. Children demonstrated secure attachment behaviours, while meeting developmental and motor milestones. However, as attachment was not measured at baseline and then retested, any change in mother-child bonding over this period was difficult to evaluate (Byrne et al., 2010). Of particular significance is that two-thirds of the mothers in this research had their own representations of disorganised attachment (Byrne et al., 2010). According to Byrne and colleagues, these findings suggested that a developmentally supported prison nursery programme may influence the development of secure attachment, even in mothers with multiple risk factors. Byrne and colleagues (2012) went on to carry out a longitudinal study of maternal and child outcomes looking at the different types of separation experienced during the first eight years of re-entry into the community. Out of 91 mothers and their children from this prison nursery, 82 percent of the infants were found to have stayed with their mothers or an alternate caregiver for 12 months post-release. Although these outcomes appear positive, Byrne and colleagues (2012) cautions against these results as reflecting only "one prison population in one historical period" (p.87).

[16] The Strange Situation Procedure was devised in the 1970s by Mary Ainsworth in order to observe the attachment relationship between a caregiver and their child.

Goshin and colleagues (2014) further studied the outcomes of 47 preschool children who spent 1-18 months in the prison nursery with their mothers. Comparing this cohort to a national data set of 64 children who experienced separation, they found evidence of significantly less anxious and depressive symptoms in children who stayed with their mother. Byrne and colleagues (2014) concluded that children remaining with their mother in a prison nursery may develop a resilience to "anxious/depressed behaviour problems in the preschool period" (p.12). Furthermore, separation may damage attachment and increase poor developmental outcomes (Byrne et al., 2014). However, Byrne and colleagues (2014) caution against generalising the results of their studies to other prison nurseries who run a different programme as the outcome may not be the same.

Indiana Women's Prison opened the Wee Ones Nursery (WON) in 2008, providing a facility to accommodate ten women with their children. Similar to New York, WON provided parenting classes in child development and lactation counselling. In contrast this programme, the Indiana programme was operated by the Department of Corrections and hired other inmates as nannies to enable the mothers to attend classes (Whiteacre, Fritz & Owen, 2013). A study by Whitacre, Fritz & Owen (2013) compared post-release outcomes for 90 mothers participating in the prison nursery with 98 mothers who, prior to the establishment of the prison nursery, would likely have been eligible for the programme. Using the Adult-Child Relationship Scale to assess attachment, this research did not find any statistically significant difference in reported levels of mother-child closeness between nursery mothers and the control group as indicated in the previous studies by Byrne and colleagues (2010, 2012). However, mothers incarcerated with their children did report an increased sense of parenting worth.

Echoing the findings of Byrne and colleagues (2012), 86 percent of WON participants still had legal custody of their children a year after their release from prison. This compared to 58 percent in the control group who were separated from their child and did not maintain custody after prison (Whiteacre et al., 2013). Fritz and Whiteacre (2016) went on to conduct a qualitative research project on the lived experiences of women who gave birth when in the WON programme compared to

those who gave birth in prison before the programme implementation. Twenty-seven women, 15 WON and 12 pre-WON mothers agreed to take part. Greater numbers of WON participants were breastfeeding, experienced positive staff relationships, and reported that they found the unit to be a quieter and safer environment. WON participants considered the programme a success and would encourage other mothers to apply (Fritz & Whiteacre, 2016). However prenatal care was viewed as inadequate and family attendance at the birth was identified as difficult due to the distance they needed to travel and a lack of communication. Furthermore, the pre-WON participants commented on their traumatic separation when their babies were removed post-birth. Limitations recognised in this study were small sample sizes that made generalisations to other jurisdictions difficult and that the four-year period between incarceration and interview may have jeopardised participants recall (Fritz & Whiteacre, 2016).

Out of the limited research that has emerged from the UK, notable is the study conducted by Dolan, Birmingham, Mullee and Gregoire (2013) which focused on the long-term outcomes for imprisoned mothers. Dolan and colleagues (2013) compared 22 MBU mothers who had their children remain with them in prison with 38 women who were separated from their children post-birth. Follow up interviews were completed for these 60 mothers on average 4.5 years after the initial meeting. Results of this research were a dramatic contrast with 77 percent of the MBU children still being cared for by their mother at follow up, compared to 20 percent of those who had been separated. Dolan and colleagues (2013) concluded that participants who remained together with their child in the prison MBU were more likely to retain their care after release. Although these results were similar to those found from both Byrne and colleagues (2010, 2012) and Whiteacre and colleagues (2013), specific information about how the WON programme was run was missing from their report and therefore this facility was difficult to compare.

New Beginnings was a short-term attachment-based group intervention programme established in 2004 in the UK and was specifically designed for mothers with babies in prison. Based on work developed at the Anna Freud Centre, New Beginnings delivered early interventions to mother-child pairs in two UK prisons (Baradon et al.,

2008). This model centred on attachment theory and aimed to support baby's development and facilitate a reciprocal mother-child relationship. Through eight, two-hour sessions delivered to mothers over four consecutive weeks, New Beginnings worked to enhance mother's connectedness to their baby's needs while addressing the existing intergenerational cycles of dysfunctional activity (Baradon et al., 2008).

During the 2004-2005 pilot stage of this programme provision, 27 mother-child pairs were studied. The programme was measured through a ten-minute video of participants interacting with their child at the start of the course being compared to a similar video taken at the end of the programme. Additionally, pre- and post-course Parent Development Interviews (PDI) were carried out with 15 of the mothers to assess change. Some of the primary themes emerging from these interviews were the guilt mothers felt in bringing their child to prison, and a desire for their child to have a different life to their own. Children were often referred to as providing comfort through helping mothers to manage their emotions (Baradon et al., 2008). Participants shared how they felt the group approach helped them to normalise behaviours they would often keep hidden. Researchers' recognised facilitators' inevitable influence over both the individual and group process making their therapeutic experience and psychodynamic training central to the successful running of the programme (Baradon et al., 2008). A trusting relationship between programme facilitators, prison management and staff were found to be vital for effective programme provision.

More recently, Sleed, Baradon and Fonaghy (2013) conducted further research on the New Beginnings programme, recruiting mothers from MBUs across the UK. The 88 mother-child combinations who were part of the New Beginnings programme were compared with 75 dyads from prisons that did not offer the programme. Using a range of developmentally-based standardised instruments to determine mother-child attachment, this research demonstrated mothers who had completed this intervention showed positive shifts in bonding as well as more responsive and competent care towards their child (Sleed et al., 2013). Although future research is needed to assess the long-term outcomes of the New Beginnings programme, this

research indicates that there are benefits to be derived from brief attachment-focused interventions within the first year of the child's life (Sleed et al., 2013).

Although dated, additional research from the UK conducted by Catan (1992) is often referred to in the literature and deserves consideration for both its similar and contradictory research outcomes. Catan conducted a longitudinal study with 74 prison nursery babies from 1986-1987 and found infants staying in a prison nursery developed attachments to their mothers that were strong and healthy. Catan also found infants living within the prison system for four months or longer experienced short-term negative motor, social and cognitive development. These delays were observed to disappear soon after leaving prison and were attributed to a lack of stimulating interactions and early childhood educational provision. Although this research found no significant drawback to children being with their mothers in prison, it did highlight potentially harmful environmental influences.

Similar to Catan (1992), Jiménez & Palacios (2003) conducted research examining the impact of the prison environment on the development of 127 children averaging 16.3 months of age, residing in Spain's four prisons. They compared participants living in separate nursery units within restricted prison environments, to participants living in units resembling small apartments supervised by custodial staff and integrated in the community. This study reported similar infant development between both groups, however for infants living in the more restricted custodial environment, infant development significantly slowed after the age of 18 months. This particular study provided no long-term follow up like Catan (1992) to allow evaluation of whether these developmental delays dissipated after release. What both research studies do highlight is the potential impact on early development of living within a restrictive environment (Dwyer, 2014; Pojman, 2001).

As evident from the studies highlighted so far, prison nursery programmes aim to deliver a therapeutic intervention through a developmentally supportive and consistent prison nursery programme, conducive to nurturing mother-child bonds (Byrne et al., 2014). However, with limited research, the experience of attachment is difficult to evaluate. Although Whiteacre and colleagues (2013) suggested little

benefit to mother-child attachment from involvement in the prison nursery environment, this may be due to different measurement scales used between research studies. However, the most significant similarity across research cases was the high percentage of prison nursery participants who maintained the care of their child in the year after their release (Byrne et al., 2012; Dolan et al., 2013; Whiteacre et al., 2013). Ultimately, the risk to children not having the opportunity to form secure attachments, and the consequences of recidivism for the mothers, reinforces the significance of developing this important bond.

Recidivism

The reintegration process for women following incarceration is a vulnerable period. Women often return to their same communities, are typically limited in resources, and experience hardship and stressful living conditions (Richie, 2001). Motherhood with limited social and economic provision may be difficult (Brown & Bloom, 2009). Women offenders experience stigma and social marginalisation in areas of employment, education, housing and social services (O'Brien & Bates, 2005). Mothers may suffer severed relationships with their children on the outside, as a result of having been in prison (Richie, 2001). Brown and Ross (2010) conducted research with 25 women in prison who were part of the Women's Mentoring Programme in Victoria, Australia. This service engaged with the women about three months prior to their release and conducted interviews at various stages of their mentoring relationship, with four mothers interviewed after 12 months post-release. Brown and Ross (2010) discovered women released from prison felt socially isolated, as their time in prison had compromised significant relationships in the community. Mothers frequently faced rebuilding their lives and relationships while endeavouring to obtain employment, secure housing, and attend mandated appointments (Hayes, 2008; Walsh & Crough, 2013). Unmet health care needs, mental health treatment, basic safety and security from further abuse, and the demands of meeting parole conditions, further compounded the strain experienced by an already marginalised cohort of women (Brown & Bloom, 2009; Richie, 2001).

Without the necessary skills and resources to manage the multiple demands of reintegrating and resettling, women were unlikely to succeed in attempts to avoid recidivist offending (O'Brien & Bates, 2005; Richie, 2001). Literature suggests bonding and attachment between a mother and her child may act as a transformational platform for those otherwise facing a criminal pathway (Carlson, 2009). However, Michalsen (2011) further proposed that the barriers experienced by a woman once released, may counteract the benefits associated with bonding with her child when in prison. The following section will discuss the research with relevance to the impact of prison nursery involvement on recidivism.

Prison Nursery Research: Recidivism

Carlson (2001) has contributed the majority of the research looking at the impact of the prison nursery programme on recidivist rates of mothers after their release from the Nebraska Correctional Centre for Women. This programme was modelled off the New York State Department of Corrections prison nursery example highlighted in the previous section (Byrne et al., 2010, 2012). Distinctive between the two facilities was the fact that the Nebraska programme was not contracted out like New York but run by the Department of Correctional Services, with the unit being staffed by a full-time vocational instructor (Carlson, 1998). Nebraska State Prison operated the Mother/Offspring Life Development Programme (MOLD), which offered inmates prenatal parenting education, child development training in infant care, facilitated visiting, and provided a prison nursery programme for pregnant women aimed at maintaining mother-child relationships (Carlson, 1998). Like the New York programme, mothers were required to use the provision of childcare to enable them to work for half a day or attend classes (Carlson, 1998).

From 1994-1995, Carlson (2001) conducted surveys with 37 mothers that had participated in the prison nursery. Findings were similar to Whiteacre and colleagues (2013), demonstrating significantly high reports (95%) of mothers commenting positively on the parenting programme, with parenting classes helping them feel close to their child. Carlson (2001) also discovered mixed opinions amongst mothers feeling prepared for working-mother life after release. Carlson (2001) made further

comparisons between the 27 inmates in the Nebraska prison that gave birth four years prior to the prison nursery programme starting, and the 44 that had participated in the nursery programme from 1994-1999. Out of the pre-nursery participants, eight (33.3%) mothers had returned to custody compared with four (9%) nursery programme participants. Furthermore, in line with the research evidence already presented, Carlson (2001) also reported a high percentage (95%) of children of programme participants remaining in the care of their mother post-release. However, this result was not compared with non-programme participants nor did it specify a period of time after release. Carlson (2009) continued his study to cover a ten-year period from 1994-2004, reporting recidivism rates of 16.8 percent for programme participants compared to a 50 percent rate of recidivism for women forced to separate from their babies, a 33.2 percent difference. This study reinforced previous findings suggesting the positive influence of prison nursery involvement in reducing a woman's recidivism rate.

Carlson (2018) further extended this research, producing a 20-year retrospective study from 1994-2014 looking at recidivism within three years of leaving the programme for 142 participants. This group was once again compared with a control group of 30 women who would likely have been eligible but needed to relinquish care of their baby prior to the implementation of the prison nursery. Over this period of time, Carlson (2018) reported only 20 (14%) of nursery mothers returning to custody, compared to 16 (53%) of the control group. This study was one of the few that matched control and experimental groups in terms of length of sentence, age, and offence, and when comparing incarcerated mothers who were separated from their children at birth with those who remained together as part of the nursery programme (Carlson, 2018). Carlson (2018) concluded that a significant reduction in long-term recidivism may result for women who successfully complete the prison nursery programme.

Supporting the work of Carlson (2001, 2009, 2018), the aforementioned research on the New York State prison nursery (Byrne et al., 2010) reported that only 10 percent of mothers returned to custody for new parole violations, and reported no new convictions. There was however, no control group to provide a comparison. Goshin

and colleagues (2013) further conducted a three-year recidivism study with 139 women who were part of the New York State prison nursery from 2001-2007. It was found that 83.3 percent of these women remained in the community after release, with 9.4 percent returning for parole violations and 4.3 percent for new crimes. Staley (2002) offered another set of research data also from New York State Department of Corrections in a three-year follow up study with nursery programme participants in both Taconic and Bedford Hills. Recidivism rates were compared between nursery participants and women inmates separated from their children but released during the same period of time. At one-year post-release, recidivism rates for programme participants were 5.3 percent, compared to 8.3 percent for non-programme females. After two-years, the difference increased with 7.3 percent for programme participants as opposed to 19.2 percent for non-programme females. At three-years, 13.4 percent of programme participants reoffended compared with 25.9 percent for non-programme participants. The abovementioned research from Whiteacre and colleagues (2013) supports such studies as they also reported a (slightly) lower rate of recidivism amongst WON programme participants compared to non-programme participants after their first year of release (26% vs 31%).

At Her Majesty's Prison (HMP) Service Styal in the UK, Action for Children delivered a programme to address the needs of women with children through a holistic approach to rehabilitation. Action for Children (2010) included the wider family in their programme provision, highlighting the benefit of coordinated services and programmes improving outcomes for children and mothers. Working towards the provision of a nursery with no prison officers, the mother and baby units provided experienced and qualified staff in childcare to support the mothers. These nursery staff also managed effective relationships across wider systems such as with prison officers, probation and community services. Action for Children also took on the role as liaison between a mother and her family outside, building relationships, engaging with partners and involving outside community agencies. HM Prison Service Styal demonstrated low recidivism rates of around 12.5 percent, or six of the 48 MBU women, compared to 77 percent for the general female prison population (Action for Children, 2010).

The literature discussed above provides evidence primarily to support the use of prison nurseries to encourage attachment, even in mothers with who have experienced their own disrupted attachment development. The research also illustrates the benefits from prison nursery involvement in terms of reducing recidivism. What appears to be a feature common to successful nursery programmes is the significance placed on providing a comprehensive developmentally supportive prison nursery programme—namely, one that acknowledges education, parent training and counselling, and places significant importance on remaining connected and engaged with family and community outside. In particular, the role of a nurse positioned within the nursery seems to contribute to the success of a nursery programme as it facilitates collaborative work across multiple systems (Goshin et al., 2013). Prison nursery programmes in the United States were identified to involve a developmentally supportive nurse onsite, while most of the UK mother-child prison units employ nurses to facilitate child-centred best practice (Caddle & Eaton, 1997). According to Goshin and colleagues (2013), nurse practitioners "are vital to establish and to sustain a public health focus within a difficult system" (p.115). Additionally, a programme designed for mothers with babies must take into account more than just providing a model of parenting from dominant ideas of gender, ethnicity and class (Feintuch, 2013; Haney, 2013). However, there is a lack of literature addressing exactly how these aspects of diversity can be accommodated within the different populations in MBUs (Byrne et al., 2014; Carlson, 2009; Haney, 2010; Sleed et al., 2013; Staley, 2002; Whiteacre et al., 2013). Education within the prison nursery is at risk of being culturally alienating if it fails to consider the social and cultural diversity of the mothers and the effect this has on their style of parenting (Brown & Bloom, 2009; Freitas et al., 2016). To understand an individual's unique approach to motherhood requires a philosophical shift from an individualistic model, to one that takes into account a holistic framework incorporating community and family links (Flavin, 2004).

Rights of the Child

Essentially, human rights are applied to everyone who qualifies by virtue of being human, irrespective of race, ethnicity, social class or gender (Ward & Birgden, 2007).

Kanaboshi and colleagues (2017) argue that it is the child's right to have the opportunity to form a relationship with their mother, considering the detrimental effects on the child if they were unable to form a secure attachment. The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 9) provides a legal basis for the treatment of young people and states children should not be separated from their parents except when in their own best interests (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). When decisions are made for the child to remain in prison with their mother, the rights of the child must be the primary consideration (Robertson, 2008; World Health Organisation, 2009). Additionally, they are "never to be treated as prisoners" (United Nations General Assembly, 2010, Rule 49 p.19). However, when a parent is imprisoned, the child is often overlooked in the decision-making process (Alejos et al., 2005). Rights are frequently disregarded by those who argue that incarcerated mothers should not have the privilege of their child remaining with them (Hamper, 2014; Martin & Tole, 2017). Warner (2015) argues that providing an environment conducive to housing a child contrasts with the purpose of incarceration, being that of punishment. Critics of prison nurseries assert that having babies remain in prison is more focused on providing what is in the best interests of the mother rather than the child's needs (Dwyer, 2014; Elmalak, 2015). Alternatively, there is widespread agreement that mothers should be kept out of custody if possible, in order to give each child the best start in life (Bastick, 2005; Corston, 2007; Marmot, 2010; Shain, Strickman & Rederford, 2010; World Health Organisation, 2009).

Despite these moral considerations, the research reviewed above has predominantly addressed the advantages of babies remaining in prison in terms of the three main principles highlighted at the outset of this chapter. These principles were discussed in terms of assessing attachment and recidivist rates (Byrne, 2010; Carlson, 2009; Goshin & Byrne, 2009) or reviewing the rights of the child (Alejos et al., 2005). There are a few international studies, particularly qualitative research examples that do not necessarily point to positive outcomes in support of these three underlying principles. These are considered in the following section.

International Nursery Programmes

Many prisons in Northern Europe emphasise features of normalisation in their approach to imprisonment and the importance of keeping the family together. In these jurisdictions, "the object of imprisonment is to enable prisoners to lead a life of social responsibility without committing criminal offences" to counteract the potentially harmful implications of imprisonment (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2008, p.41). The United Nations General Assembly Resolution of 2010, supported this need for the child's environment within the prison to reflect as close as possible to what they would experience outside (United Nations General Assembly, 2010, Rule 50, p19).

Preungesheim, a maximum-security prison in Frankfurt, is an example of this distinctive approach to running a prison nursery programme. This prison aims to provide an experience for incarcerated mothers mirroring what happens in the community. Preungesheim is described "as the most comprehensive programme anywhere in the world for incarcerated mothers and their children" (Kauffman, 2001, pg. 64). Low security female offenders can have their child with them in an "open mother-child house" located within prison grounds that opens up into the community (Prison Reform Trust, 2013, p.48). During the day, women work in the house or in the community while their children are exposed to the surrounding neighbourhood with certified caregivers (Kauffman, 2001; Paurus, 2018; Prison Reform Trust, 2013). Germany acknowledges motherhood as accredited work and therefore prisoners eligible for work release programmes can enter the community for the day to parent their children, returning back to prison in the evening (Prison Reform Trust, 2013). Danish prisons go further to create a normal environment by housing couples together with their child up until the age of three years old (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2008). Flexible hours and private spaces accommodate visiting children and family, with most prisoners receiving regular leave. The philosophies governing these principles emphasise strong relationships between prisons and the community and include significant encouragement of prisoners to self-manage (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2008). Of notable

significance, Denmark has one of the lowest and most stable rates of incarceration in Europe (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2008; Walmsley, 2018).

Few studies present in-depth analysis and qualitative accounts of mothers' specific experiences with their baby in prison (Albertson, O'Keeffe, Lessing-Turner, Burke, & Renfrew, 2012). Of those that do exist, Haney (2013) offered her analysis through ethnographic research of two external facilities designed for female offenders and their children in the United States. Haney's accounts provided insights into the role of motherhood within these residential facilities, identifying them as characterised by relations of power. In addition, Feintuch (2013) conducted qualitative research with just over 30 staff, volunteers and mothers of Spain's prison nurseries and newly constructed external units for mothers and their children. These external units were a move by Spain's government at the time to create an environment quite separate and dissimilar from mainstream prisons and would support community integration (Feintuch, 2013). Feintuch (2013) found through specialised programmes these external units addressed the lack of support and limited parental autonomy that had been experienced in nurseries within the prison environment.

However, these external units continued to experience the elements of power and control associated with mothering within a correctional facility and the gendered and classed notions of how "mothering" should be done. Similarly, Luther and Gregson (2011) examined the challenges faced for the role of motherhood within a penal institution. Their qualitative research conducted in the United States started in 2001, and included visits between one and four times a week for approximately two hours at a time to the Pacific Correctional Women's Center (PCWC). In addition to interacting with and observing inmate mothers within most areas of the correctional facility, and in particular the prison's parenting centre, researchers conducted nine in-depth interviews with mothers in the prison nursery. Both Feintuch (2013) and Luther & Gregson (2011) identified similar tensions within these facilities, where parental autonomy was diminished through the limited decision-making power mothers were able to exercise. Luther and Gregson (2011) found significant challenges for women managing the dual role of inmate and parent within an

institution with their often-conflicting position making the socially constructed expectation of “motherhood” difficult to achieve.

Pösö and colleagues (2010) conducted a document analysis and interviews with 19 staff and 17 inmates in two Finnish prisons with facilities to house children with their mothers. These special units enabled the mothers’ full-time care and responsibility for their child, but because of this the mothers were unable to participate in rehabilitation, education or prison work programmes. Children’s nurses were also a feature of these units with the specific aim to support the mother (Pösö et al., 2010). Researchers found limited information routinely documented about the children residing in the mother-child units and a clear lack of practice guidelines for how these units should operate. When interviewed, mothers overwhelmingly expressed their view that it was in the best interests of the child to remain with their mother and have the opportunity to bond. However, there were mixed opinions about whether the facilities were adequate and whether the constant presence of others was experienced as supportive or difficult (Pösö et al., 2010). Mothers who were able to maintain and engage with social supports outside of the prison through family or community were able to better manage the difficulties they faced when in prison.

Most recently, a study by Freitas and colleagues (2016) was interested in the specific experiences of mothers in prison, comparing interviews with ten Portuguese mothers raising children in prison with ten mothers whose children were on the outside. This qualitative study reinforced the complexities involved when a mother leaves the responsibilities of her family and goes to prison. Results reported both benefits and disadvantages for prison nursery mothers and the control group. Mothers who decided that their child should remain outside referred to the unsuitable environment of the prison even while recognising the personal benefits of having their child with them to relieve loneliness while incarcerated. Alternatively, mothers with their children in prison commented on the increased freedom experienced when confined with their child, which provided emotional support and company. These mothers however recognised that an environment characterised by control was not necessarily conducive to creating close bonds or “being a good

mother" (Freitas et al., 2016, p.431). Across most of these studies and irrespective of the complaints or conditions shared between them, mothers were overwhelmingly grateful to be a part of the nursery programme and agreed this was in their child's best interests (Fritz & Whitacre, 2016; Pösö et al., 2010; Shain et al., 2010).

It is worth highlighting that evidence-based research on nursery units in Australia is, like New Zealand, limited. Although, Dowell, Mejiia, Preen and Segal (2018) produced a report examining the vulnerability of children of women prisoners and children's needs within corrective services in Australia, the provision of mother and baby units was not explored. Furthermore, Corrections Victoria commissioned Shlonsky and colleagues (2016) to conduct a review of both international and local literature of prison-based mother and baby units to better inform future programme development and service provision within prisons in Victoria. Although this report indicated much of the research already identified within this Literature Review, there was no mention of any Australian based research outcomes (Shlonsky et al., 2016). Despite this lack of research in Australia, the results of other international studies discussed above suggest prison nursery programmes have positively impacted upon recidivism rates and strengthened mother-child relationships.

The quantitative and qualitative research data illustrated in this Literature Review must be interpreted with caution. Most of the studies cited have methodological limitations, which may influence the credibility of results. These limitations included limited research specific to mothers with babies in prison, small sample sizes, and studies that did not use a comparison group (Baradon et al., 2008; Dwyer, 2014; Shlonsky et al., 2016). Byrne and colleagues (2014) warned that generalising their research results to other prison nursery programmes may be misleading, as other prison nurseries may not have the same developmentally supportive programme. Additionally, Dwyer (2014) questioned the objectivity of social science research conducted by those who have an interest in demonstrating the success of their own programme. Participant bias was often not considered when comparing nursery participants—already screened to remove high-risk offenders—to those of the general population (Dwyer, 2014; Shlonsky et al., 2016). These figures may well highlight a cohort with a low re-offense rate, even in the absence of a prison nursery

programme (Dwyer, 2014). Longitudinal research data is also limited, as maintaining contact with this particular population after release was difficult (Carlson, 2009). Where such debateable and varied research evidence exists, it raises questions about the validity of the long-term benefits identified when a child remains in prison with their mother (Dwyer, 2014; Pojman, 2001).

New Zealand-Based Research

Although existing New Zealand-based research is beneficial, little has been published about perspectives of mothers living with their babies in prison. Most of the available New Zealand literature, as highlighted in this section, is limited to the experience of female incarceration, reintegration, and more specifically how this process impacts on the children and family dynamics of those incarcerated. Taylor (2004) considered women's criminal reoffending and examined factors involved with recidivism. This research highlighted risk factors for reoffending, and how finding supportive relationships and social support contributed to desistance from crime. Bentley's (2014) qualitative research with nine female ex-prisoners similarly highlighted the vulnerability of women involved in the criminal justice system in New Zealand. Bentley conducted a study on female prisoner reintegration that supported Taylor's (2004) findings. This inquiry noted common issues women faced as they returned to their communities, such as their experience of support networks, employment, housing, and release conditions. Goldingay (2009) addressed age-mixing of female offenders in New Zealand prisons. Using in-depth interviews, Goldingay (2007, 2009) examined the relationships between young and adult prisoners and what these associations provided within the prison context. She found the "jail mum" (a metaphor used in her research) provided support and emotional wellbeing for some participants who developed mother-daughter type relationships (p.68). George and colleagues (2014) produced research specific to the New Zealand context, presenting Māori women's experiences of incarceration and their connection with theories of historical trauma. These authors explored the concept of intergenerational impact of colonisation and the subsequent normalisation of dysfunction and incarceration through the stories of Māori women.

One of the first pieces of New Zealand based research on the children and families of prisoners was conducted by Heather Deane in 1988. Her research focused on the social effects of imprisonment for 89 sentenced male prisoners. Contact was made with 30 of their families in the community to gain insight into their experience of having a family member in prison. This study identified impacts for children including social isolation and influences on their mental and physical health. Kingi (1999) conducted qualitative research interviewing 56 women in the three New Zealand women's prisons at that time (Christchurch Women's Prison, Arohata and Mt Eden) and followed up with 37 of these women at a later date when in the community. Kingi (1999) focused on the children of women in prison and found similar issues to those identified by Deane (1988), highlighting the importance of mother-child relationships throughout a woman's incarceration. Kingi went on to write a report in 2009 examining the effects of imprisonment on families and whānau (Kingi, 2009). More recently the final report of a two-year research project published by Pillars entitled "Causes of and solutions to inter-generational crime" offered in-depth accounts into the lives and experiences of children and families of prisoners in New Zealand (Gordon, 2011). Out of this research, a further document was prepared for Te Puni Kokiri highlighting issues specific to Māori criminal justice involvement and the implications of high rates of Māori imprisonment (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011).[17]

Prior to the implementation of the Corrections (Mothers and Babies) Amendment Act 2008, the perspectives of women prisoners were sought around the idea of a child remaining in prison until two years of age (Kingi, Paulin, Wehipeihana, & Mossman, 2008). This report revealed that more than half of the 258 women prisoners surveyed supported having children reside with their mother in prison, but had differing opinions on the upper age limit of the child (Kingi et al., 2008). The most recent piece of available research specific to women with children in New Zealand prisons is a formative evaluation of the MBU produced by independent evaluators Elliott-Hohepa and Hungerford (2013). This report focused on the

[17] Te Puni Kōkiri is New Zealand's ministry that advises the government on policies and issues relating to Māori.

Mothers with Babies (MWB) policy, processes and protocols influencing operations, and how these were implemented in practice. For their research, Elliott-Hohepa and Hungerford (2013) reviewed relevant policy documents and held semi-structured interviews with prison staff, Corrections National Office staff, and mothers in the MBU. According to their research, most mothers reported developing bonds with their children due to their remaining together within the MBU. However, there were instances of researchers observing some mothers to be less attached and one instance of a mother commenting on the potential consequences of being together within an environment that did not reflect the realities of their life outside. Furthermore, ongoing consideration was found to be needed in some areas including gendered mixing of staff, dedicated specific MBU staff, evaluation of parenting programmes, entry and approval processes for MBU acceptance, staff training and national co-ordination of the Mothers with Babies Units (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013).

In New Zealand, the Corrections (Mothers and Babies) Amendment Act (2008) was passed to provide for the best interests of the child through supporting maternal attachment and bonding, thereby reducing the impact on the child of parental imprisonment. However, as evidenced in this review, there is a significant research gap in the literature related to this population of mothers, their experience while in prison with their child, and their experience on release from a prison nursery. My research attempts to address this gap and explore what was significant in the lives of these mothers who, as a result of the change in legislation, had a child under their care while in prison. I aimed to conduct research that spent time in the worlds inhabited by mothers of the MBU, to be interested, ask questions, and observe them in their lives.

While research undertaken by Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford (2013) focused on the MBU, there is a need for in-depth qualitative research focusing on the experiences of mothers in the unit. In an international context, research has predominantly focused on measures of attachment and recidivist rates (Fritz & Whiteacre, 2016). The in-depth qualitative focus of my research therefore contributes towards a more nuanced understanding of mothers' subjective experience, and has the potential to

inform more effective programmes, procedures, and policies both in New Zealand and internationally.

Summary

This chapter provided an account of the available literature, both national and international, relating to women in prison and the relationship they have with their children living with them in a prison nursery. International research cases point to favourable results that support the case for benefits accruing from a mother and child developing bonds even while in prison (Byrne et al., 2010; Elmalak, 2015). Specifically, reduced recidivism and enhanced mother-child relationships provide supporting evidence for the presence of children within the prison so as to facilitate rehabilitation efforts and promote future healthy child development (Byrne et al., 2012; Carlson, 2001; Gilad & Gat, 2013; Kauffman, 2001; Silverman, 2005).

However, as is evident in this review, published data on the outcomes for mothers who have their babies with them in prison remains limited and prevents generalisations to the New Zealand context. Research on the impact of these programmes on the longer-term wellbeing of both mother and child is minimal. Additionally, there is considerable variation on the specific arrangements of different prison nurseries, impacting on the quality of programme delivery and making different jurisdictions difficult to compare (Bauer, 2019; Gilad & Gat, 2013). New Zealand research is limited to one report that specifically refers to the MBU (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013). New Zealand-based literature more generally provides insight into the world inhabited by families affected by crime, including looking at the impact of this world on the life of a child. This review has also highlighted how caution is required when interpreting the few robust studies that have been conducted (Dwyer, 2014). Evaluations suggest that benefits may only occur in the right conditions with a developmentally supported prison nursery programme (Byrne et al., 2010; Shlonsky et al., 2016). A lack of research considering the lived experiences of mothers with their babies in prison means there is limited understanding of the personal impact felt by this population of women. My research aims to fill these gaps.

In the following chapter I focus on the theoretical perspectives that frame this research. The chapter highlights the work of feminist theorists and their contributions to the research design. It also draws attention to the contribution of ecological systems theory to the analysis of the material. I argue that these perspectives are appropriate for the in-depth qualitative approach that I have taken.

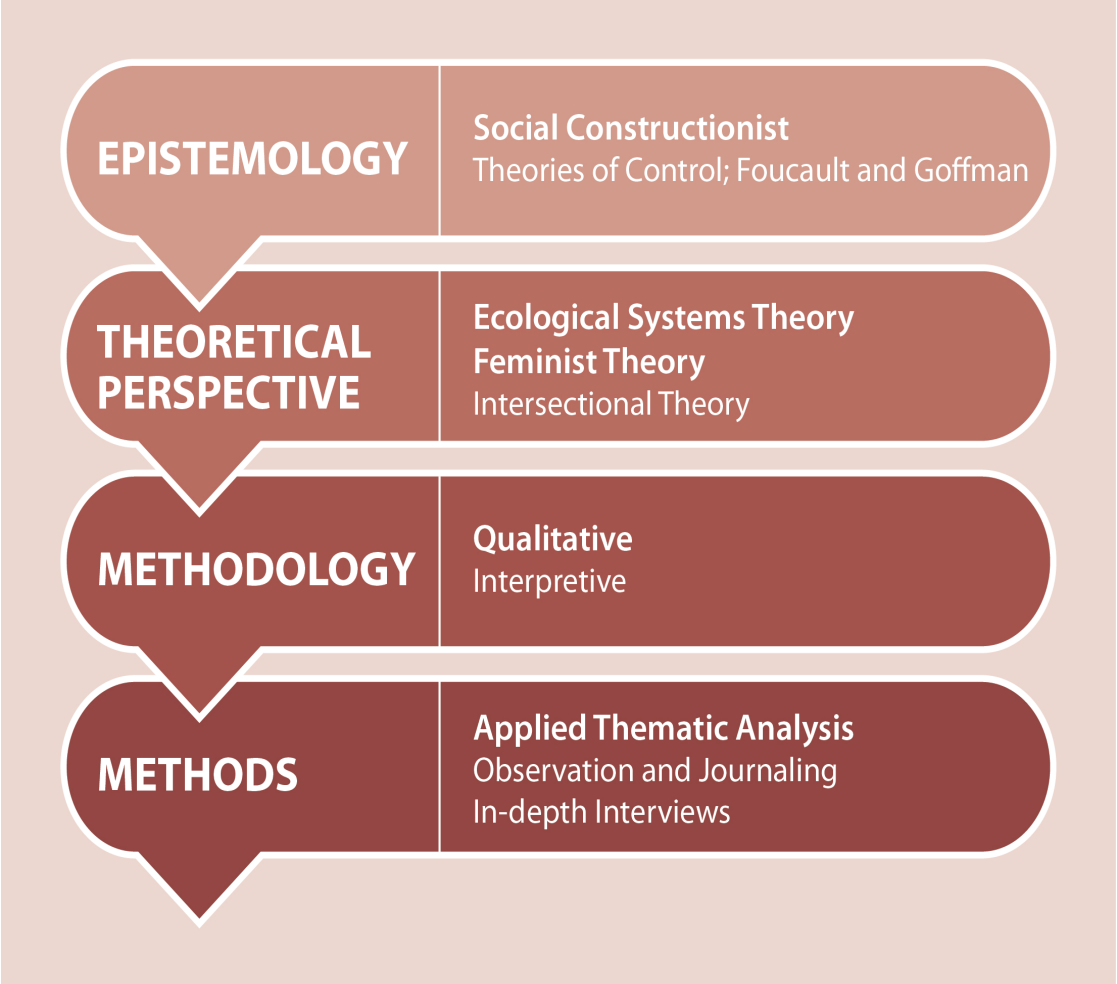
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I bring together the epistemological, theoretical and methodological perspectives that provided the theoretical framework for this research. According to Crotty (1998), early questions in any research proposal should include what methodologies and methods will be used to address the research issue and should provide justification for these choices. In this chapter, I draw attention to the theoretical framing of this thesis.

The chapter begins by outlining the qualitative theoretical perspective that determined the method utilised in conducting the research. It then moves to discuss feminist theories that informed the overall aims and the qualitative method I chose to adopt. The chapter then outlines ecological systems theory. Using systems thinking offered an approach from which I could draw attention to the relational aspects I encountered in my research. Overall, the thesis is shaped by a social constructionist perspective. As this thesis considers the way meaning is constructed from shared understandings of social life, I draw attention to the storylines that shape understandings of motherhood in western societies, and which influence the way my research participants made sense of their roles as mothers. In particular, I reflect upon the structure of traditional Māori whānau. The chapter concludes by highlighting theories from Goffman and Foucault in order to offer explanations of social control through their ideas about power, stigma, stereotypes and labelling.

Figure 3.1 provides a logical conceptual account of the theoretical framework for this research. This illustration demonstrates a coherent progression of ideas related to the foundation of this thesis; however, in reality these theoretical concepts developed quite differently. My actual experience of thinking about theory was not a logical process but rather one that I laboured with and that evolved over the course of this research.

Figure 3-1: Theoretical Framework of this Research



A Qualitative Methodology

The term methodology refers to how research in conducted, the approach to the subject, and to how answers are derived (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2016). Methodology includes the assumptions and principles upon which methods used in a study are based, explaining and justifying their use, but not the methods themselves (Schwandt, 2001). Methods are distinguished as the actual practical procedures used for gathering data, with methodology validating these methods used to generate the data, and in their analysis (Carter & Little, 2007). I decided that a qualitative methodology was the most suitable approach to this research. As an inductive approach, qualitative analysis of the data developed from the ground up rather than being prescribed by some overarching grand theory (Creswell, 2014). Having an emphasis on participant experiences and a deeply qualitative understanding of an

individual's reality was necessary to gain insight and learn from their lived experiences, with participants responding to the freedom to tell their own stories. As an interpretive approach, my stance as researcher was never considered as neutral or objective. It could not provide a first-hand account of events, but rather was an interpretation of what was told to me (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Participant's self-told stories were understood, not as a record of what happened, but an interpretation of experience that was on-going and subject to continual reinterpretation (Taylor et al., 2016).

Qualitative methodology allowed individual, in-depth accounts to develop over an extended period, enabling me to share in each mother's journey to gain a sense of their experience from their perspectives. This approach further emphasised that the outcome of analysis is not a generalisation of findings, but an appreciation of a particular experience, in a particular situation, involving particular people (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Also, many social work values and aims were accommodated using a qualitative approach. It was a person-centered and humanistic research methodology, which captured rich meaning inherent in the lives of participants through textual data (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012; Holloway & Biley, 2011). Qualitative research like this endeavours to make transparent the subjectivity of the participant and of myself, acknowledging our interpretive roles (Carter & Little, 2007). As such, I adopted a qualitative methodology to achieve a humanistic and grounded piece of social work research, which required in-depth contemplation of the assumptions I brought with me to this research. The theoretical perspective that framed my research helped shape these assumptions and are outlined in the following section.

A Theoretical Perspective

A theoretical perspective is a set of beliefs or assumptions about the nature of reality, informing and guiding research practice (Creswell, 2014). A feminist theoretical perspective questions that which is taken-for-granted and challenges existing assumptions and beliefs highlighting gender issues and patriarchal attitudes in social and therapeutic domains (Payne, 2006). Feminist ideals are realised by

making explicit the views and assumptions of the self that guides research, exposing the researchers own beliefs and value systems (Larsson & Sjoblom, 2010). In conducting qualitative research grounded in the stories of participants, feminist theoretical principles were adopted to support the aims of this study and will be the focus of the following section.

Feminist Informed Research

Traditional methods of research were understood by second-wave feminist scholars to be grounded in social principles, attitudes and concerns of the dominant groups in society and, consequently, overlooked issues of concern to women (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Early feminist theory redefined this process to account for this bias, operating from an ethic of care, partnership and consideration throughout the research process. Feminist theory emphasises research that is reflexive and centred on women, enables the deconstruction of their lived experiences, and recognises their social, cultural, and historical positionality (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Holloway & Todres, 2003; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). A feminist approach looks to place the experiences of marginalised groups as the focus of research, enabling the identification of social structures that shaped participants lives (Swigonski, 1994). The focus of feminist research is most often the diverse circumstances of women within the context of wider institutions (Creswell & Poth, 2018). At an epistemological level, feminist research values the lived experience and stories of women as legitimate and worthy sources of knowledge (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Riessman & Quinney, 2005; Swigonski, 1994). My research adopts a feminist theoretical perspective to support raising awareness of the experiences of mothers in prison with their children, with a view to identifying how living in the MBU impacted parenting practices and addressed potential recidivism.

A distinct hierarchy exists in traditional positivist research between expert researchers and the researched, resulting in researcher/participant dynamics and relationships not being adequately considered in the positivist research tradition (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Sands, 2013). In this way, epistemological positioning assumed subject-object separation where the researcher and researched were

somehow unconnected, having no influence on each other (Swigonski, 1994). According to feminist theory, this dynamic does not facilitate trust as it might in an open and transparent relationship. In line with the qualitative methodological approach previously described, feminist research was able to offer real accounts of participant experience (Swigonski, 1994). This required personal investment from both me as researcher and the participants of this research in the mutual sharing of experiences and knowledge (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Feminist ideals favour in-depth interviewing and observation involving human relations over scientific enquiry based on controlled conditions (Patton, 2002b). A feminist approach considers researchers as human observers and interpreters of events with influence over the research process (Swigonski, 1994). With significance to researching in prison, my work emphasised an awareness of the dynamics of relationships and the risk of exploitation (Sands, 2013). This approach required reflection and reflective practice, asking questions about how socio-cultural positioning shaped and contributed to the participant's experiences and researcher interpretations (Olesen, 2011). As researcher, I was required to recognise the emotionality of the project, tap into personal feelings and insights, and use these as resources in the work (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). I used journal writing, referred to in Chapter Four, as a central tool in this research to continually explore and document my personal research experiences. This method resulted in a chronological documentation of reflections referred to when conducting analysis, taking me back to the interviews and situating my thoughts in that particular context.

The work of Maureen Cain (1993) was of theoretical value for raising awareness around the production of knowledge that benefits women. Cain (1993) details how feminist research could produce knowledge about those whose voices are silent. According to Cain (1993), Foucault also addressed the suppression of marginalised voices in relation to his thinking about power and control. Similar to feminist theorists, Foucault drew attention to the production of knowledge by a researcher being situated historically and socially in a relational space that ultimately influenced and shaped their work (Cain, 1993). Significant here is the emphasis on feminist researchers' ability to make decisions about their chosen standpoint, to establish a

place from which they are able to share with those for who they are producing knowledge. Creating this relational standpoint is often necessary for middle-class academics who write about the under-privileged (Cain, 1993). When trying to establish a standpoint for researching participants within the prison, Comack (1999) encountered similar struggles to those I experienced. Comack (1999) recognised the ease with which she found common ground with participants' when sharing stories of pregnancies and having children where they could laugh and cry together (p.297). However, the differences that Comack shared with the women were more obvious than the similarities, which raised questions about whether she would be able to fully understand her participants' stories when they had such contrasting life experiences. To address this, Comack (1999) suggested a "women's standpoint" approach to recognise "the act of sharing a standpoint is not so much one of 'participating in' as it is one of 'listening to' and trying to 'hear' what the women are saying" (p.298). Adopting this standpoint aligns with the in-depth and interpretive qualitative methodological aims of this research.

Throughout this chapter, theoretical discussions highlight an awareness of the interpretive impact of the researcher on their research. Any person will view a situation from different vantage points due to the multiplicity of life influences, shaping research outcomes through unique interpretations (Clandinin, Pushor & Orr, 2007). To account for this interpretive aspect, I have provided detailed descriptions of the thematic analytical methods and procedures that I used in Chapter Four, as this is best practice to ensure research rigour (Clinchy, 2003). Traditional research methods of experiment, argument and counter argument have been challenged by Clinchy (2003) through an epistemological approach termed *connected knowing* (p.34). In this approach, emphasis is placed on valuing, agreeing and seeing through the eyes of the participant (Clinchy, 2003). Feminist theoretical values support this perspective that the researcher can never provide an exact account of the participant's experience, as all involved come from a preconceived value base which impacts on the research. Like feminist theory, connected knowing values relationships and encourages involvement between the researcher and the researched

Intersectional Theory

Chapter One, highlighted how second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s recognised power, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic and political status to impact on women involved in the criminal justice system. Twenty years later in 1989—around the beginning of the third-wave of feminism—Kimberlé Crenshaw first termed the concept of intersectionality. Crenshaw highlights how intersectional theory offered support to the feminist perspective by illustrating how different aspects of discrimination overlapped and intersected. Intersectional feminism focuses on the interplay of various kinds of discrimination experienced by women (International Women's Development Agency, 2018). Crenshaw (1989) recognises how different forms of discrimination are not separate issues but operate together. She observes how certain individuals face multiple forms of discrimination with features such as sexism and racism intersecting (1989, 1991). Crenshaw (2012) in particular highlights women of colour and the intersectional nature of "surveillance, punishment, and mass incarceration" (p.1424). Furthermore, an intersectional approach should confront "oppressive ideologies and structures that favour the progress of the elite over those who have limited means to escape the margins" (Bernard, 2013, p.17).

Although Crenshaw illustrated her argument of intersectionality primarily based on race and gender, the concept of intersectionality has been consequently developed to address the compounding issues experienced in varied dimensions of discrimination. Features based on age, class, gender, race, physical or mental ability, socioeconomic status, religion, ethnicity, or sexual identity are found to intersect and overlap to discriminate (Crenshaw, 2012; International Women's Development Agency, 2018). Intersectional discrimination has been discovered not just between, but also within groups, as individuals are exposed to different degrees of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989). Participants in the current study illustrated their experiences of multiple oppressions in their stories of discrimination and marginalisation, as women, mothers, criminals, Māori, people of lower socio-economic status, and as beneficiaries. Criminal mothers are marginalised both for breaking the law and not living up to societal expectations of being a good mother

(Walsh & Crough, 2013). Significantly, it is within the institutional setting of the MBU that the convergence of these varied forms of discrimination are illuminated to reveal the oppression experienced by the participants of this research.

An Ecological Approach

An ecological systems theoretical approach was used as a lens in this research, providing a lens through which to gain an understanding of the context of this study. Through systems thinking, a framework was provided within which to situate participants and illustrate the relationships significant to their lives. Starting with a discussion of Bronfenbrenners ecological system model, this section will identify how systems thinking informed the theoretical approach of this research.

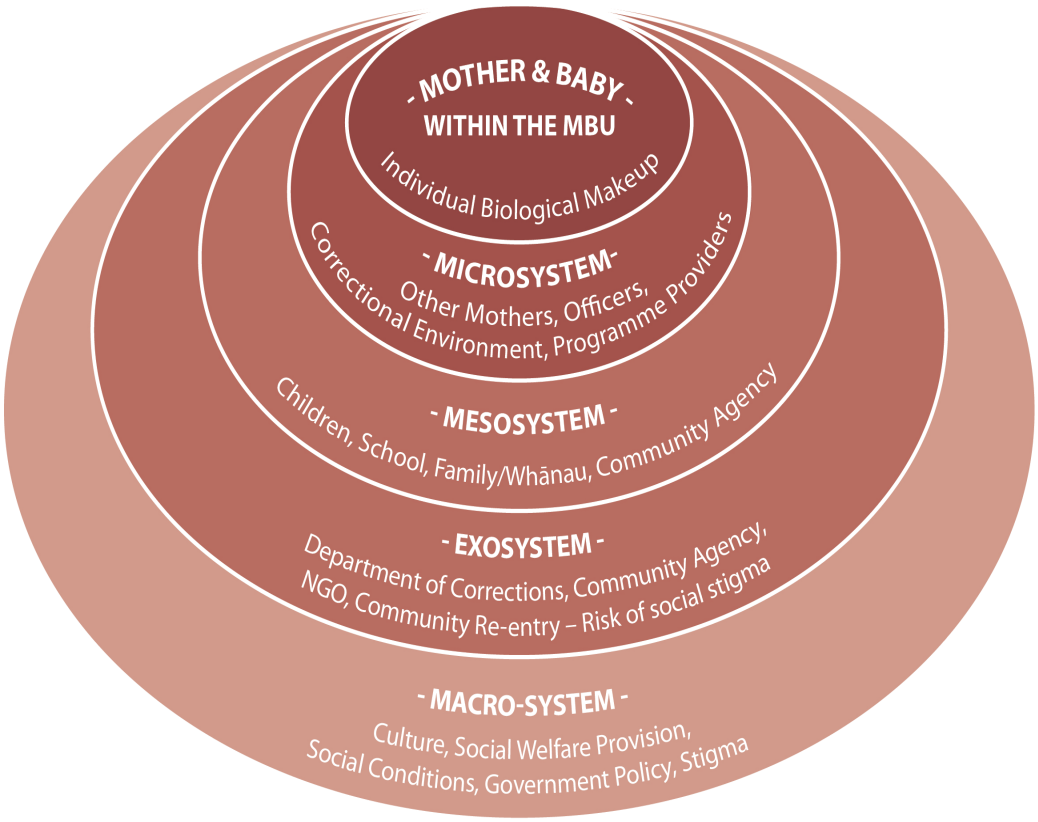
Bronfenbrenner classically illustrated this interconnectedness of systems through a diagram of four concentric circles; micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-systems. Systems theory highlights the circumstances of relationships and connections that surround the individual and influence their experience and draws attention to the setting that is the focus of this research. The inter-relatedness and joint functioning of these systems means an individual's development is an outcome of interactions "between the changing person and the changing environmental contexts within which a person lives" (Arditti, 2005). The active role of the developing person is considered in its interrelationship within a particular historical, social and cultural context (Darling, 2007). Reciprocity is emphasised in the interconnectedness of systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological model provides a lens through which to view the place of the family unit, within a community, within a city, within a country, and through different policy agendas. What happens in any one of those realms filters through each system and ultimately influences the family/whānau unit. Bronfenbrenner (2005) claims the family to be "the heart of the social system" and further states that "if we are to maintain the health of society, we must discover the best means of nurturing that heart" (p. 260). Systems thinking further suggests that the family is vulnerable to the systems that surround it, where demands and stress experienced at any level will have an impact (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

Germain (1991) emphasises the complex nature of transactional relationships when contemplating more than simple linear cause and effect thinking. Relevant to the systems thinking adopted in this research, Germain (1991) provides support for the idea that interactions create change and have consequences for all individuals involved. Extending on the idea of reciprocal understanding, Germain suggests there is a cause and effect circular loop creating an ongoing flow of "social, cultural, emotional, psychological, biological, and physiological processes" (p.16). In this ecological approach *adaptation* is referred to by Germain (1991) as the motivator behind an individual's determination for the best person-environment "fit" through either changing oneself or the environment to best suit their individual needs (p.17). This has relevance to the theoretical thinking around a mother's transactional relationships within the prison nursery setting and her ability to actively adapt to fit the circumstances or make decisions to remain passive in order to best cope within this environment.

A similar ecological perspective, introduced by Lanskey, Losel, Markson and Souza (2015), also highlights the influence of wider environmental systems on the individual. In their research focusing on the wellbeing of children of prisoners, Lanskey and colleagues (2015) approached their study from a three-dimensional perspective, examining the influence of time, space, and agency. Time was acknowledged as transient, reflecting experience as a temporary event, connecting a time before and a time after a particular occurrence (Lanskey et al., 2015). Space emphasised the place occupied by the individual that also determined a person's social and emotional wellbeing (Brereton, Clinch & Ferreira, 2008; Morrison, 2011). The active role of the individual introduced a sense of agency contributing to the wellbeing of a child (Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2007). Both Bronfenbrenner (2005) and Lanskey and colleagues (2015) emphasise the transient nature of context as understood within a particular moment in time and the influence of the space and environment on the developing individual. Although Lanskey and colleagues (2015) mostly focus on the immediate environment, like Bronfenbrenner (1977), they acknowledge the importance of understanding the individual within the wider social, material and structural context they are a part of.

Participants in this research are understood within this proposed ecological framework. Figure 3.2 uses Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological approach as a base through which to illustrate how participants experience is situated within the broader continuum of their life. The mother and child within the prison nursery interacted in a reciprocal relationship with each other, with other mothers, with programme providers, with correctional officers, and with corrections systems. Without meaningful connections made between the mother and child at the centre of the system, surrounding systems were at risk of collapsing (Elmalak, 2015). According to this perspective, the inter-relatedness of micro-, meso- and exo-systems all shape experiences. The way these systems interact within the MBU and between prison and the community, may influence the development of the mother-child relationship and connectedness experienced with family/whānau outside.

Figure 3-2: Ecological Systems Thinking Around the MBU



The macro-system must further be considered in relation to the impact of historical inter-generational trauma experienced as a result of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Understanding the cumulative effects of historical trauma is significant to indigenous populations. General outcomes for Māori and Pasifika have been less positive when compared to Europeans, specifically in measures of "health, paid work and economic standard of living" (Marriott & Sim, 2014, p. 26). Structural inequalities are evidenced in lower Māori achievement data within the education and health sector, higher rates of poverty and increased numbers of Māori incarcerated (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Although Pasifika established in New Zealand as a result of migration, it has been argued that structural racism similarly shapes their experiences within this country (Gray & Crichton-Hill, 2019).

In relation to this research, the over-representation of wāhine Māori within the criminal justice system reflects this broader social disparity. As previously highlighted, Māori women represent 63 per cent of the female prisoner population (Department of Corrections, 2017e). In this research half of participants identified as Pasifika or Māori, and arguably face multiple forms of discrimination based on their gender, culture and race. Elements of the macro system reflect ongoing personal and cultural negotiations in the lives and stories of the women in this research and in their experience of systemic, structural and historical injustices.

Social Constructionist Epistemology - How Do We Know?

What we know and what we come to believe about our world is determined from our historical, cultural and social make-up (Creswell, 2014). Knowledge creation is impossible without some ideas about what knowledge is and how it is constructed (Carter & Little, 2007). A social constructionist approach as used in this research, provides the overarching theoretical framework that views knowledge as subjective, relative to time and place and socially constructed. This epistemological belief highlights how we are born into systems, thereby interacting with symbols and meanings that we come to understand as our culture and shape how we see and feel things (Barkway, 2001). This context has direct influence on an individual's construction of reality, the meanings they attach, and the interpretations that

develop. Individuals' knowledge creation is shaped and moulded through their own negotiations within the socio-cultural context they are a part of (Schwandt, 2001). Multiple realities and multiple worlds exist, based on individuals' interpretive constructs that are relative and context dependent (Drisko, 2013). No two journeys of experience are the same, therefore a uniqueness is attached to an individual's own knowledge creation and original interpretation.

In this way we develop storylines or norms that we come to live by (Barkway, 2001). Principal storylines develop within this social constructionist approach that govern what is acceptable or not acceptable at any particular point in time. I will illustrate the development of participants' stories with relevance to the current study, in the following section. Following on from this, I will demonstrate how motherhood norms are socially constructed and shaped by cultural discourse. Here it is important to consider how traditional Māori whānau operated within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. The foundational structures of communal living and shared care arrangements for tamariki are important to understand when considering these socially constructed values and ideals currently expected in the role of motherhood in contemporary New Zealand. This is addressed in the subsequent section, Traditional Māori Whānau.

Storylines We Come to Live By

Common socio-cultural storylines are taken-for-granted everyday actions accepted by members of that society around which histories, cultures and traditions are developed (Bruner, 1991). When socio-cultural storylines are compelling and accepted, they emerge as dominant discourses, achieving a "truth" status that becomes understood as correct and appropriate ('normal') behaviour (McCormack, 2001). Storylines that lose favour become old versions making way for popular new stories to develop (Bruner, 1991).

Social constructionists refer to reference groups providing parameters to these storylines within which we function, maintaining societal order through normative understandings around child-care, family, social life, politics and education (Drisko,

2013). Bruner (1991) used the term “reference group” to describe those communities we identify with that shape our interpretations and determine how we are socialised. Identifying with reference groups results in the internalisation of accepted roles and rules, where memberships constantly change as individuals make decisions, form relationships, grow and learn. Through these shifting dynamics, individuals challenge and resist the dominant norms, resulting in either positive creative change or social dissonance between the individual and their social reference group (Drisko, 2013). Ultimately, the social and cultural environment within which a person interacts governs their chosen role or “reference group” (Bruner, 1991). With reference to this research, participants held membership to more than one significant group—most notably with a participant’s identity as a mother in constant tension with their role as a prisoner.

The way Goffman (1969) viewed life as a stage and people as actors choosing roles they saw as appropriate is relevant to the social constructionist perspective adopted in this research as well as the storyline approach proposed by Bruner (1991). In this performance, individuals constantly negotiated complex relationships while being culturally and socially bound to act in certain ways (Drisko, 2013). Joseph Campbell (1949) recognised how society endorsed dominant cultural discourses that individuals identified with, referring to these as monomyths. Campbell (1949) suggested monomyths could be found in the simplest of ways we communicate, such as fairy tales, myths and stories narrated through the generations. Often based on dominant Western ideals, one such storied framework included the traditional romantic narrative of the heroic young man who triumphed over adversity to win the hand of the fair maiden (Campbell, 1949; McCormack, 2001). Traditional conceptions of motherhood also endorse these fairy tales, depicting the wife who stayed at home caring for her children and managing the house while the father left to work for the family income.

Typical of any storied form, participants in this research often told the tale of being faced with a presenting problem, the physical journey to overcome this challenge, and the progress and self-transformation experienced along the way (Dybicz, 2015). In my experience, during the current study, participants’ stories were forthcoming

and easily narrated by mothers who told a successful tale of hardship, growth and a happy ending. Alternatively, mothers who felt they had not achieved this expected storyline living up to the dominant ideals of motherhood, were less willing to be interviewed. These participants were hard to locate, admitted to being reluctant to come forward as they felt they had failed at what was expected. Carrie highlights this in her commentary below and as a result she felt she had nothing to offer this research:

> I don't feel there is any sense in talking to you at the moment because I don't feel like I have got anything to offer you……I was supposed to report back to you with all this beautiful stuff that has happened, and I can't do that, and so I don't feel like there is anything that you would need to hear. (Carrie)

Social Construction of Motherhood

Understanding the socially constructed nature of the storylines we come to live by means the ideology of what represents a good mother is relevant to both time and place. Despite this, motherhood is often judged against traditional Western notions of appropriate mothering reflected in middle class, married women who are part of traditional family units, with those not living up to these ideals are often judged and at risk of being deemed "bad" or "unfit" mothers (Ferraro & Moe, 2003). Dominant ideology often shapes the understanding of a good mother as one who knows her children and is best able to determine their social and physical wellbeing (Lois, 2009, p.211-212). Dominant social discourse suggests mothers are expected to be selfless and competent, sacrificing their own goals and wellbeing to put the needs of the family first (Enos, 2001; Ferraro & Moe, 2003). Hays (1996, p.4) first coined the term "*intensive mothering"* to encapsulate the socially acceptable indicators of a good mother as one of primary caregiver who invests great amounts of time, energy and resources to intensively raise their children. In this way, motherhood is characterised neo-liberal philosophies of competition, individuality and individual responsibility as features involved in being a good mother.

Bosworth (2016) argues that to be a criminal contradicts the socially constructed ideals of motherhood. Imprisoned women are characterised as failing these ideals irrespective of their ability as a parent (Carlen & Worrall, 2004; Codd, 2008). A criminal mother is seen as one who has put her own desires over that of her child's needs, contradicting the culturally constructed role of a good mother (Feintuch, 2013; Jensen & DuDeck-Biondo, 2005). The historical account of New Zealand women in crime, presented in chapter one, illustrated how the state, through the criminal justice system, attempted to control aspects of a women's role. The image of womanhood and motherhood has been arguably disciplined through female incarceration. Understanding these developing ideals through the social construction of motherhood illustrates how emerging colonial values contrasted with the traditional role of motherhood in early Māori whānau, as discussed in the following section.

Traditional Māori Whānau

Indigenous worldviews and traditional cultural notions are often overlooked and not considered in accounts of contemporary family functioning. Adopting a social constructionist approach highlights the influence of social, political and historical positioning when developing an understanding of family over time. Durie (2003) suggests measuring the positioning of modern whānau through their capacity to perform primary tasks expected of Māori whānau. Durie identifies these tasks as the capacity to share, to care, to plan ahead, to empower and provide guardianship (Durie, 1997). Māori are at risk of losing the primary purpose of whānau functioning without these holistic fundamental aspects being a part of Māori family life (Durie, 2003). Important in this research is to illustrate an understanding of traditional Māori whānau principles, which highlight their early experiences of traditional family life. Māori have undoubtedly experienced a change in family structure and an increase in the fragmentation of the traditional whānau unit (Kiro, 2019). I will further explore this transition in the following section.

Traditional principles of Māori whānau were embedded in the connectedness of whakapapa uniting past and present generations and providing a sense of belonging

(Herewini, 2018; Metge & Campbell, 1958; Salmond, 1993).[18] Whānau and whānaungatanga were equally as integral to the collective nature of the extended family unit and to Māori wellbeing.[19] Traditional understandings of whānau were based on whakapapa, made up of *kaumatua*, *pakeke* and *tamariki* living self-sufficiently within the wider settlement (Herewini, 2018; Kiro, 2019).[20] This collaborative focus encouraged a sense of belonging and kinship and was further expressed through the collective nature of raising children (Horiana, Barber, Nikora & Middlemiss, 2017; Jenkins, Harte & Ririki, 2011). Traditional Māori parenting involved multiple caregivers, where infants from their first moments were embraced by extended whānau relationships (Jones, Barber, Nikora & Middlemiss, 2017; Kiro, 2019; Penehira & Doherty, 2013). Children had the status of *taonga* and held *mana*, as gifts from the *atua* to be protected and cared for by the whānau (Herewini, 2018; Jenkins et al., 2011; Metge & Campbell, 1958).[21] The ceremonial time of birth emphasised the tapu status of the babies (Jenkins et al., 2011). Māori women were supported throughout pregnancy and childbirth by their partner and whānau (Le Grice & Braun, 2016). The tua (cutting of the cord at birth) was accompanied by karakia*,* sharing positive messages about the child's place in this world (Jenkins et al., 2011, p.9).[22] Waiata oriori (lullabies/chants) composed by parents or grandparents were symbolic and continually sung to the baby, reinforcing the children as tapu in their spiritual connections, whakapapa and purpose (Jenkins et al., 2011; Kiro, 2019; Penehira & Doherty, 2013).[23] Traditional Māori viewed the placenta and the land as inextricably linked, providing life, nurturance and connection (Le Grice & Braun, 2016; Mead, 2016). Therefore, traditional Māori returned the placenta to a special

[18] Whakapapa: a set of relationships, conditional obligations and privileges that determine a sense of self wellbeing between whānau, hapū and iwi and the interconnectedness between whānau, hapū and iwi and the environment.

[19] Whanaungatanga: relationships through shared experiences together, providing people with a sense of belonging and family connection.

[20] Kaumatua: elder; Pakeke: grown up, adult.

[21] Taonga: treasure, anything prized—applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques. Atua: ancestor with continuing influence.

[22] Karakia: a ritual, chant or incantation—a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity.

[23] Waiata oriori: A lullaby or song composed on the birth of a chiefly child about their ancestry and tribal history.

part of the whenua, burying this in a ritual called *whenua ki te whenua* (Mead, 2016).[24]

From birth, the wider whānau operated on a reciprocal basis, where all had a responsibility and a role in the upbringing of tamariki (Herewini, 2018; Horiana et al., 2017; Jenkins et al., 2011; Le Grice & Braun, 2016; Metge & Campbell, 1958). This community where responsibilities were shared was considered by many as one of the foundations of being Māori (Penehira & Doherty, 2013). Based on relationships, this model highlighted the significance of each family member fulfilling their duty and contributing to the healthy functioning of the collective (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1970). Although the mother kept close to the child, older siblings were required to care for younger family members to enable parents to fulfil obligations to their whānau, on the marae (Herewini, 2018). Breastfeeding was a cultural practice known as ūkaipō,[25] and was encouraged as the easiest way for a māmā and her baby to "fall in love", to create a trusting relationship and a secure connection (Cargo, 2016, p.254). Kaumatua and wider whānau took on a special role in providing extra love, support and care for the child. Physical or verbal punishment was not used for discipline, where the cries of a child caused embarrassment to the wider whānau (Jenkins et al., 2011). As the child was tapu, it was necessary they were treated accordingly therefore everything was done collectively to attend to the needs of the children (Horiana et al., 2017). This extended system of support meant there was always someone the child could be passed to, to serve as another carer or distraction (Jenkins et al., 2011).

With the influence of colonisation and as Māori migrated to other parts of New Zealand, the arrangement of the traditional Māori whānau changed over time. For example, the care of the grandparents that was such a feature of early Māori family life altered due to the economic necessity of grandparents needing to work, and the geographic dislocation of many whānau living further apart (Kiro, 2019). Extended family relationships were also disrupted leaving some Māori isolated, and facing increasing demands without sources of support (Kiro, 2019). In order to cater to the

[24] Whenua: land, country, nation or state.

[25] Ukaipo: Mother, source of sustenance.

demands faced in modern society, contemporary understandings of whānau based on whakapapa broadened to include those who share a relationship through common purpose or shared experience (Durie, 2003; Mead, 2016). In addition, Māori whānau placed importance on the concept of whāngai where extended family raised nieces, nephews, cousins or other family members (Kiro, 2019).[26]

Jones and colleagues (2017) recognise how significant the whānau structure is to the overall wellbeing of Māori and its vital link to their economic and social prosperity. When parents were surrounded by supportive whānau, the emotional attachment between a mother, father and their baby would most likely occur (Kiro, 2019). Increasing recognition of Māori families and their need for support has seen initiatives such as Te Kahui Mana Ririki. This group was formed in 2008 as a national Māori child advocacy organisation with an aim to target the needs of Māori children and young people (Kiro, 2019). Whānau Ora, launched in 2010, delivers whānau-centred tailored support through community agencies, who deliver coordinated services based on needs identified by whānau (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Māori Development, 2019). At the time of writing, Mana Ake was a pilot initiative providing mental health and wellbeing support for all children aged 5-12 years across Canterbury, New Zealand.[27] The need for Māori-based whānau initiatives recognises the importance of connecting whānau through the use of traditional frameworks, drawing strength through Māori discourse.

Theories of Control: A Social Constructionist Understanding

Two major theorists whose ideas informed a constructionist understanding of the social world are highlighted in the following section. Contributions from Foucault (1977) and Goffman (1961) offer further context to the epistemological approach taken in this research.

[26] Whāngai is a customary Māori practice where a child is raised by someone who is not their birth parent but normally a relative (New Zealand Government, 2018).

[27] Mana Ake – Stronger for Tomorrow is an initiative providing support for Children aged 5 to 12 across the Canterbury region. Mana Ake Kaimahi work to support teachers, families and whānau when children are experiencing issues that impact on their wellbeing (http://ccn.health.nz/FocusAreas/ManaAke-StrongerforTomorrow.aspx)

Foucault: Biopower, Panopticons and Instruments of Control

The work of Michel Foucault (1977, 1980, 1982), with his interest in the nature of the modern state, contributed to the constructionist approach of this theoretical chapter through his ideas about power and control and the creation of knowledge. The ontological assumptions held by Foucault mirror the ideas already portrayed in this chapter, where multiple understandings are evident in the development of knowledge. According to Foucault, the individual is a construct of the shared discourse and social structure of which they are a part of at any particular point in time, rejecting the idea of a truly autonomous individual (Foucault, 1982). Mothers in this research were recognised as subjects of controlling influences that are outlined below.

Foucault (1977) in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, focuses on the way society operates through his theories of power and knowledge. Over time, the changing nature of power and discipline saw traditional judicial authority of the sovereign over subjects give way to new forms of state governance (Deveaux, 1994; Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1982). This shift in control saw more overt means of corporal punishment move to less physically painful but more covert means of discipline through controlling the body and reshaping the mind, influencing behaviour and normalising the individual (Foucault, 1977). A more rehabilitative focus was utilised to modify conduct through changing psychological attitudes and tendencies (Brunon-Ernst, 2012; Gutting, 2005). This new approach of increased state control over population regulation is termed "biopower", where instruments of *hierarchical observation, normalising judgment* and *examination* are used to control people and their behaviour, replacing the need for violent punishments (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p.64).

Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, designed in the 18th century, provided a symbolic representation from which Foucault could base his understanding of modern governmentality. According to Foucault, the Panopticon design was a highly efficient method of achieving discipline through instruments of control. It provided a piece of prison architecture, exemplifying how surveillance was to enforce social order

(Brunon-Ernst, 2012). This design enabled the exercise of power within the prison through a structure that allowed minimum expenditure for maximum returns, with discipline the central organising principle (Deveaux, 1994). As a circular building with a central tower that looked ominous and imposing from the outside, administration and staffing were housed in the middle with long hallways of cell blocks emanating from this central point (Freedman, 1981). Hierarchical observation, normalising judgments and examination are illustrated below as instruments of control with relevance to this Panopticon design.

Hierarchical observation was a feature of the Panopticon and used as an instrument of control where those detained assumed they were under the persistent gaze of the central tower authorities, potentially rendering them constantly visible (Elmer, 2003; Filingham, 1993; Gibson, 2011). Within this structure prisoners assumed they could be seen at any moment and would self-discipline and modify their behaviour accordingly (Elmer, 2003). Foucault (1980) argues that dominant forces in any structure that holds power and knowledge can use their position as a form of social control. Foucault (1977) posits that *normalising judgments* are the result of relentless exposure of the individual prisoner to institutional procedural regimes of timetables and routines. These imposed repetitive rhythms provide social order and prisoner constraint through fear of being judged if one operates outside of these routines (Holligan, 2000). Foucault (1977) asserted that this modern disciplinary management controls the individual in an effort to produce a "docile worker" who does what those in power want them to do (Filingham, 1993, p.129). Normalising judgments operate in these group environments where community members find themselves ranked and compared to others. Those not following the prescribed agenda were labelled as "deviant" (Filingham, 1993). In addition, the prison operates on incentives and earned privileges aimed to encourage prisoners to invest in their own good behaviour (Crewe, 2007). Individual success is directly dependent on personal drive and determination where prisoners self-regulate and self-discipline in an environment requiring directed behaviour through the use of incentives and disincentives (Crewe, 2007).

Examination involves a combination of both techniques of hierarchical observation and normalising judgment (Foucault, 1977). Within the prison, an awareness of assessment procedures—such as documenting of case records—individualises subjects, influences and regulates their behaviour, and increases their compliance (Filingham, 1993). Through these means of assessment individuals are differentiated, judged, and made visible by being examined in relation to their peers (Foucault, 1977). Foucault (1978-79/2008) suggests the mother-child relationship is quantifiably measurable in terms of investment in human capital. In line with neo-liberal ideas, this approach considers the child an "abilities machine" where the number of hours a mother spends with her child, the care given, and parent's education directly impact on the development of the child (Foucault, 1978-79/2008, p.227). Neo-liberal undertones once again highlight how mothering was evaluated, examined and became competitive and individually driven. With relevance to the current research, mothers in the MBU could potentially be judged on the success of their child being directly determined by the amount of emotional, social and economic investment they put in.

Identified as instruments of control, Foucault (1982) recognises the above techniques of hierarchical observation, normalising judgments and examination do not always recruit compliant docile bodies resigned to discipline regimes. He suggests where there was power there would always be resistance, with a tenuous relationship between those in power and those subjected to this power (Foucault, 1980). This resistance is crucial to the equation as without resistance there would be only obedience and therefore no need for power relations (Filingham, 1993; O'Farrell, 2005). In prison, demonstrations of resistance are not necessarily violent riots or attempts to escape. Resistance to the system are found in on-going and subtle ways, such as challenges to dress codes, food choices or doing and saying the right things merely to reflect being a model prisoner (Crewe, 2007; Foucault, 1982; Riessman, 2000). Everyday forms of resistance evident in prison life offer a way to understand how offenders negotiated their position to preserve a sense of self. Mothers in the MBU found their own ways to defy authority through subtle acts of resistance—shared in Chapter Five, 'Monitored Mothering'.

Goffman: Total Institutions, Stigma, Stereotypes, Labelling and Shame

Foucault's influential views on population regulation within the prison through instruments of state control have significant relevance to Erving Goffman (1961). Goffman actually pre-empted Foucault's ideas in his book *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* In *Asylums*, Goffman presented a sociological account of what he termed "total institutions". These are defined as confined facilities producing the normalcy of life within a highly regulated and structured environment, administered by an overseeing authority (Clegg, 2006). The physical appearance of total institutions was symbolic of its total character, attempting to create a barrier between those inside the institution and the outside world through high fences, locked doors, open terrain and barbed wire (Goffman, 1961). Prisons are one such example of a total institution, where the daily functioning of large groups of people are managed by a relatively small number of authority figures (Goffman, 1961). Prisons do this by confining groups of people within the same location and requiring them to do the same things together. These functions are scheduled and prescribed and ultimately directed towards fulfilling the aims of the institution. Through surveillance and what Foucault later termed *hierarchical observation,* any deviation from the repetitive rhythms of the group significantly stands out. Goffman (1961) highlights how prisoners experienced chronic anxiety over fear of breaking the rules. Autonomous decision-making is relinquished through collectively-scheduled activities, restricted outside communications, stripping of personal items, and sanctions on what is allowed within the prison (Goffman, 1961).

Developing out of this need to fit in and not deviate from the acceptable norm is the fear of stigma, stereotyping, labelling and subsequent shame. Erving Goffman (1963) later explored ideas about the social construction of stigma and its impact on the individual, in his writing about the relationship between stigma and stereotyping. Goffman (1963) defines stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (p.3), disgracing the individual to the point where they are excluded from fully participating in society. Goffman (1963) identifies imprisonment as a blemish of individual character and therefore a category of stigmatisation (p.4). From a social

constructionist perspective, mothers within the MBU were categorised into a group that failed to live up to societal expectations and, echoing Goffman (1963), are therefore marginalised and subjected to stigma and stereotyping causing shame. Social constructionism views stigma as an individual experience that varies based on the socio-cultural determinants of that specific environment (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Riessman, 2000). Social class, gender and age influence the experience of stigma, how it is managed and the stigmatised individual's outcome (Riessman, 2000). Differences have been identified across time and between cultures with regards to what behaviours are labelled and subsequently stigmatised (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Sociologist Edwin Schur (1980) labels interactions between opposing forces to determine the right to define what is acceptable in any given society as "stigma contests" (p.8). Whether powerful or not, all individuals and groups label and stereotype. However it is the powerful that determine access to resources and are likely to govern what differences are stigmatised and what stereotypes are accepted broadly in society (Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Labelling is the socio-cultural mechanism used to determine stigma (Link and Phelan, 2001). Labelling Theory was developed during the 1960s, influenced by sociologist Howard Becker (1963) in the writing of his book *Outsiders*. Although critiqued for a lack of consideration toward biological influences and notions of personal responsibility, this theory suggests that we are socialised based on our understandings of what differences are stigmatised, forming expectations of that group in line with our socially constructed beliefs (Becker, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001). Labelling results in the individual and stigma being viewed together rather than the stigma as something separate from the person (Link & Phelan, 2001). For example, individuals may be referred to as criminals, rather than someone who has committed a crime. When a label is linked to undesirable features a stereotype is created, inevitably distinguishing and separating categories of "us" and "them" (Link & Phelan, 2001, p.367). Although the groups representative of "us" and "them" change over time, this process of separation is a significant feature in the stigmatising process. According to Goffman (1961), shame is a consequence of the self-monitoring that results when an individual is stigmatised. Shame is a key

element for Goffman (1961) in his writing on the experience of stigma and asylums. As Foucault referred to *normalising judgments*, various terminologies have been used for this process of self-policing where the individual strives to remain within acceptable and "normal" boundaries (Scheff, 2000; Walsgrove, 1987). Cooley (1956) uses the "looking glass self" to refer to the social nature of self-monitoring (p.184). Our interpretations or reflections of others' appraisals towards ourselves, and our understanding of those appraisals, determine how we feel (Cooley, 1956; LeBel, 2012; Scheff, 2005). Continual monitoring of the self in relation to others results in feelings of either pride or shame, with shame felt as the result of acting outside of what is believed to be socially acceptable (Cooley, 1956).

Therefore, the use of a Foucauldian lens to examine parenting in prison within the context of what Goffman terms a total institution may be valuable. While Goffman's writing on stigma only touched on issues of power, and Foucault did not significantly engage with ideas of stigma, together their work highlights how socially constructed differences may function to organise and preserve social order (Parker & Aggleton, 2003). Combining ideas from both Foucault and Goffman provides a foundation for a theoretical understanding of the social construction of motherhood for those in a custodial institution.

Summary

The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter lays the foundations for this research and subsequent analysis. A qualitative methodology alongside a combined feminist and ecological systems theoretical perspective provides the conceptual guidelines to support the aims of this research, namely, to gather the stories of mothers who had their babies with them in the MBU. Broader considerations address the nature of knowing, through the discussion of a social constructionist epistemology. This worldview encapsulates values important to this research, emphasising both the importance of context for interpreting situations and interactions.

A combination of ideas about social control provided by Foucault and Goffman informs an understanding of how the environments in which people live influence the way they experience their lives. Foucault's (1980) concepts of surveillance, hierarchical observation, normalising judgments and exposure to examination were recognised in the stories of the mothers in this research, set within a total institution as framed by Goffman (1961). These scholars addressed aspects of biopower and stigma respectively, highlighting how the anticipation of harmful judgment guided an individual's behaviour. The theoretical framework as outlined in this chapter guided all aspects of this research. Decisions based on this framework shaped the way the data was collected and analysed alongside informing ethical considerations. These processes are outlined in the following chapter.

4. RESEARCH PROCESS

In this chapter I present a detailed account of the research process I used to answer the research questions introduced in Chapter One. As previously noted in Chapter One, these questions are as follows:

- How was involvement in the Mothers with Babies Unit experienced by the mothers as a result of the change in legislation allowing children to remain in prison with them until two years of age (Department of Corrections, 2008)
- What aspects of the MBU environment influenced the development of a relationship between a mother and her child?
- How did mothers experience their transition back into the community and what aspects of their MBU experience influenced their reintegration?

In addition to highlighting the strategies used to answer the above questions, this chapter also included important aspects of researching within the context of a prison, research design, and methods of analysis. The theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter provides the foundation from which this work was undertaken. Qualitative methodology informed by feminist principles means that I acknowledge from the outset that research is diverse with multiple ways to approach any given topic. Equally, I recognise that participants view situations from several different vantage points due to the multiplicity of life influences and unique interpretations shaping research outcomes (Clandinin et al., 2007). In contrast to positivist traditions where measurement and generalizability are at the forefront, the application of the qualitative method leads to a more in-depth understanding of topics in question (Creswell, 2007; Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). Flexibility, interpretivism and multiple perspectives are key features of qualitative methodology, where detailed descriptions and clear and concise guidelines around analysis are established to ensure its trustworthiness (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clinchy,

2003). This chapter will address this matter of legitimacy by offering a thorough account of the research design of this thesis. In addition, my aim at the outset of this chapter was to provide an account of the context of this research to set the scene for the reader. I was vigilant in reflecting on research reflexively. One outcome of this was a painstaking focus on the ethical considerations, which would be an essential consideration in conducting sensitive research such as this.

Research Planning

Gaining Ethics Approval

Participants for this research were mothers participating in the mothers and babies programme within New Zealand Women's Prisons. As such, the Department of Corrections was instrumental in facilitating access to the prison and, in turn, access to the women of the MBU in both Christchurch Women's Prison (CWP) and Auckland Region Women's Correctional Facility (ARWCF). A discussion specific to the practicalities involved in conducting prison research is included below. An application to undertake research was first submitted to the Department of Corrections for approval early in 2012. In conjunction with this, a proposal was sent to the University of Canterbury Postgraduate Office, along with an application to the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee. Careful ethical considerations were made of these documents to ensure that the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics were adhered to by demonstrating integrity and respect and a non-discriminatory approach to participants (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2015). Ministry of Justice criminal record checks for me as researcher were also cleared at this stage. The University of Canterbury Human Ethics committee approved my application in April 2012 (Appendix 3) and an agreement was signed with the Department in May 2012.

In preparation for conducting this research, I read the following documentation sent to me from the Department of Corrections. The Departments "Guidelines for Researchers Working with Prisoners (Appendix 4) provided information with regards to prison procedures and safe researcher practice when in the prison. The

Department of Corrections policy known as “Effectiveness for Māori Guide” (Appendix 5) offered guidance around obtaining input from Māori. I also prepared by reading a number of scholarly articles written by academics who had conducted research within prison to develop an awareness of the potential challenges that are unique to this environment (Bosworth, Campbell, Denby, Ferranti & Santos, 2005; Byrne, 2005; Jewkes, 2012; King & Liebling, 2000; Liebling, 1999, 2001; O’Brien & Bates, 2003; Roberts & Indermaur, 2007; Ugelvik, 2014; Wise, 2011).

Pre-Prison Planning

I then contacted prison liaison personnel, prison officers and gate-entry security to facilitate visiting the prison. I further introduced myself and my research to the social workers from both prisons, who took on the task of distributing to all eligible participants an informal and personal introductory letter (Appendix 6), and relevant information with regards to the research (Appendix 7). Using prison social workers to deliver this initial personal introduction constituted the use of a professional worker with an already established relationship with participants to enhance levels of trust and rapport (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2006). All potential participants were given the opportunity to take part and share their individual experiences (Alston & Bowles, 2012).

The introductory letter was the first point of contact with potential participants, and as such, I wanted this communication to reflect the type of research I was aiming to conduct. Openness, honesty and trustworthiness were qualities I wanted to convey. In addition to this, the information brief was included giving information about the aims of this research, how it would be conducted, the Department of Corrections interest, and aspects of how confidentiality would be maintained using pseudonyms with no identifying markers. Secure storage of research-related information was explained. The voluntary nature of the research was highlighted, ensuring participants understood that choosing to cease participation at any time would not compromise their place in the MBU. Mothers were also made aware that I hoped to follow up with them as they reintegrated upon release, however they would in no way be compelled to this. I advised that an audio recording device would be used

when conducting interviews that could be turned off at any time if requested by the participant, with documentation to proceed manually as an alternative. Participants would later be invited to sign a consent form agreeing to be a participant of this research (Appendix 8), which is discussed in the Ethical Considerations section of this chapter.

When fieldwork for this research commenced in 2012, there were six mothers in Auckland and four mothers in Christchurch who were part of the MBU. All of these women were invited to contribute to the research discussion about their experiences living in prison with their child. Initially I spent a full week in ARWCF, a three-day period in CWP, and then lengthy days within the MBU as I was conducting scheduled interviews over the next two years. Two more participants were to join this research as they entered the MBU in the early stages of the fieldwork. The preparation that took place when designing this research and prior to entering the prison environment was significant, as researching within the prison setting was demanding and involved its own set of unique challenges and risks. In the following sections I will share my experience of researching.

Researching in Prison

Prison research presented challenges that at times were outside of my comfort zone. These challenges were experienced when negotiating issues of access, establishing rapport, and maintaining relationships with staff and participants who often had conflicting interests. Prison demands adherence to rules and regulations with a focus often on separation of prisoners and staff. However, researchers are required to work collaboratively across domains to initiate engagement for their research (Jewkes, 2012). Researchers in this milieu constantly adapt to the changing surroundings in which they find themselves (Schlosser, 2008). At times this was difficult to work through. However, I persevered as I felt privileged to have the opportunity to contribute to rich and meaningful research. The following section highlights some of the features and challenges inherent to researching in prison that I experienced as I conducted the fieldwork component of this thesis.

Access

One of the most important considerations I found when contemplating researching in prison were issues of access. I needed to negotiate entry to the prison on many levels, including through the Department of Corrections, security staff, prison officers, the prisoners and potential participants. The breadth of range of people with whom I had to negotiate entry stressed the importance of developing relationships across multiple administrative bodies, emphasising how each connection demanded something different of the researcher (O'Brien and Bates, 2003). Important here was that once access was obtained, it had to be maintained through ongoing and productive positive relationships with both staff and participants (Berg, 2001; Trulson, Marquart & Mullings, 2004).

Gaining Access

One of the areas that researchers find most testing and most time consuming when conducting research with prisoners is gaining approval from the relevant governing body to enable access to the correctional facility (Fox, Zambrana & Lane, 2011; Patenaude, 2004). Satisfying departmental and institutional research boards and addressing issues of consent, researcher liability and internal prison issues were all significant hurdles negotiated when determining access (Trulson et al., 2004). Entry to the prison was regulated and thorough. Prison administration gave consideration towards the safety and security of both researcher and participant, and was aware of the risk that prison research could reflect adversely on the prison (Trulson et al., 2004; Wakai, Shelton, Trestman & Kesten, 2009).

Communication in my research was initiated with the Principal Research Advisor for the Department of Corrections at that time. Critical here was the quality of rapport building and fostering credibility with the Department (O'Brien & Bates, 2003). For simplicity, I limited my communications to essentially one gatekeeper. A meeting in person was arranged with the Department of Corrections to establish rapport and build a working relationship. Discussion at this meeting was around my aspirations for the proposed research, while communicating a level of flexibility in my focus and

approach. While appreciating the Department's positioning, I was careful not to assume a Departmental agenda, aware of the importance of maintaining independence, personal integrity, and scholarly judgment (King, 2000). I maintained a relationship with my Department contact by keeping her updated as my research developed, both within the prison and when out in the community. I submitted interim reports and provided the Department with copies of publications written as a result of the research (Trulson et al., 2004). Changes in key Department personnel with whom I had forged solid relationships to approve my research meant re-establishing networks and liaising with new people at various stages (Liebling & Arnold, 2004; O'Brien & Bates, 2003; Trulson et al., 2004).

Maintaining Access

Although permission was granted by the Department of Corrections to enter the prisons and conduct the proposed research, there was no guarantee that once inside the prison correctional staff would assist me through facilitating participant access. It became apparent that how I conducted myself when inside the prison would be interpreted by others and would inevitably impact on the quality and quantity of research material gathered (Trulson et al., 2004). As my research was so dependent on managing relationships with different groups, I had to make conscious decisions about the way I wanted to be perceived. Liamputtong (2010) termed these "placing issues", meaning I had to establish my place in order to form relationships with participants and prison staff. I found that to facilitate rapport with participants, it became important to establish my identity as a researcher independent from the Department of Corrections (Patenaude, 2004; Schlosser, 2008; Sutton, 2011). To do this meant distancing myself from prison officers, conscious of participants' interpretation when seeing me talking to officers and when inside the officers' base. I assumed participants would view me as having outsider status if I was seen to be waiting for escorts to move around the prison, and if I was without such visible symbols like a radio or bunch of keys that symbolised a relationship to the prison (Rowe, 2014; Sutton, 2011). I found that in returning day after day to the prison, participating in every activity to which I was invited, and spending in excess of 120 hours just being with mothers and their children, developed our relationship.

Additionally, involvement in baby movement classes, attending lunches put on in other prison wings, joining mothers at swimming lessons and baby playgroups outside of the prison, all demonstrated my commitment as the researcher interested in the lives of the women I was researching.

In addition to this, correctional staff had considerable influence on my ability to interact and be accepted as a researcher. Prison officers often act as influential gatekeepers to facilitating researcher relationships with participants (Fox et al., 2011). Establishing a good connection with the Principal Corrections Officer (PCO) in ARWCF, who had a positive rapport with the women in the MBU, was particularly advantageous when arranging meetings with participants. Personal skills in presentation and communication had the potential to determine success or failure in this relationship building (Matfin, 2000; Schlosser, 2008). To facilitate this connection, I regularly contacted the Corrections staff member I was meeting a few days before arriving at the prison, and then again, the day before, always making a point of remembering staff names. Taking the time to invest and build rapport with prison administration became equally as important as it was with participants.

Practical Issues in the Prison Environment

Out of respect, it was important to understand the rules and regulations of the prison before entering (Fox et al., 2011). Appreciating which articles would breach security, I took limited items with me. I gained written approval for my recording device from the prison before entering. As a researcher within prison, I quickly became aware that I had to act in accordance with the daily running of the MBU. Recognising my research interests were secondary meant being negotiable and flexible with my time. I had to work around prisoner activities and commitments (Fox et al., 2011; Matfin, 2000; O'Brien & Bates, 2003), staff availability for escorts (Matfin, 2000), and restricted movements. It became apparent that frequent contact would have to be made prior to travelling to the prison, as participants' situations could change quickly meaning they were no longer available to meet. Flexibility, contingency plans and allowing extra time to be built into the design, were all significant research considerations.

Where to interview when in prison posed its own set of challenges. Interviewing in busy communal spaces meant interviews could be interrupted by staff or other prisoners or were noisy due to toddlers playing creating some degree of distraction. The public address system often caused interruptions when engaging with participants by suddenly delivering a loud message. These factors meant the participant potentially lost their thoughts and became less focused, or even felt self-conscious. Critical here was my focus on the current subject of conversation, so that in the event of being interrupted I was able to remind participants of our topic in order to continue the conversation. Intense concentration was required for researching in this environment. Alternatively, when finding a quiet room this often had a window on the door where other prisoners would look in. Aspects of safety and security had to be considered when choosing a more private space where I was conscious of easy access to doors and proximity of the panic button (Matfin, 2000).

What I felt when in the MBU was an unexpected sense of comfort and safety within the unit and around the mothers. Spending in excess of nine hours per day over consecutive days within the MBU, I started to look forward to arriving at the prison and felt reassured when driving there and recognising the same geographical landmark that I knew could be seen by the mothers from inside the prison. The following journal entry reflected this feeling:

> This hill gives me a sense of comfort that I am nearly there. I just want to get there to the unit. It is an interesting feeling to think that I am looking forward to being in prison with the ladies and their company. In the unit I feel safe, I know what is happening, I have company and people to talk to. The children keep it interesting (Jacqui, 28th June, 2012).

According to Sutton (2011), researchers became susceptible to "prison tunnel vision when their prison-related interactions rival or exceed their interactions with free society, in frequency, durations and intensity" (p.56). Identification with those who are imprisoned are termed "outlaw emotions" and suggested as a fundamental aspect to prison research that should be made more visible in an effort to normalize

what felt like very abnormal feelings (Arditti, Joest, Lamber-Shute & Walker, 2010, p.1391). Becoming part of the research field and feeling comfortable and more at ease can indicate a degree of success in being accepted by and accepting of the people with whom one was researching (Ugelvik, 2014). Key here was to consciously and critically examine personal feelings and perceptions through the use of journal writing, in an effort to continue to maintain a broad perspective (Sutton, 2011). Extensive journal writing was routine in the evenings after prison visits, to document the emotions, anxieties, tensions, and frustrations I experienced. In maintaining this journal it was recognized that observational research is not completely value free, with uncertainties and contradictions present in all areas (Sherif, 2001). The significance of journal writing is addressed in a later section of this chapter.

Insider/Outsider Positioning of the Prison Researcher

The suitability of the way we study individuals in the prison environment is important to consider. With the aim of this research being to capture the experiences of participants, it was necessary to spend time building rapport and establishing myself and my personal commitment to this research (Matfin, 2000). However, debate persists around the extent to which researchers experience, participate in, and fully understand prison life (Crewe, 2006; Rhodes, 2001). Much of the literature surrounding this topic is concerned with identifying researchers as having either insider or outsider status (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Kerstetter, 2012). According to Banks' (1998) typology of cross-cultural researchers, when determining my positioning out of the four types of researchers identified on the insider/outsider continuum, I appeared to fit into the category most removed from participants. This type of researcher termed "external outsider" is assumed to have a "partial understanding of and little appreciation for the values, perspectives, and knowledge of the community he or she is studying" (Banks, 1998, p.8). This place was identified by Liamputtong (2010) as most threatening to the integrity of the community being researched, however he equally cautioned insider researchers being at risk of adopting a certain bias when too close to participants to reflect sufficiently.

What I did lack through my positioning as outsider was shared experience about much of what participants spoke about. This raised questions of how I might reflect participant's accounts without having shared their lived experiences, and the effect of my social positioning and knowledge on the interpretation of participants' stories (Newbold, Ross, Jones, Richards & Lenza, 2014). However, the advantage I found in my outsider positioning was gaining an explicit awareness of the environment, and the taken-for-granted assumptions that insider researchers may overlook (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Liamputtong, 2010). In this research, I acknowledged my approach could be considered "semi-" or "quasi-" ethnographic.

In this way I appreciated the limits to outsider participation in the prison setting, while understanding the significance of my place as a participant in the social world of the prison (Crewe, 2006). Similar to Ugelvik (2014), this took me from stranger to "sort of insider" (p.477). Critical journaling and reflexive practice during my fieldwork meant the emotional and intersubjective dimensions of my research in prison could be documented and referred to at different stages of the study (Jewkes, 2012).

Participant Population

Participant Demographics

Table 4.1 provides a summary of the participant demographic information that was offered at the time of conducting interviews. Mothers in this research ranged in age from 22 to 44 years of age. Mothers predominantly referred to sentences relating to drug or assault crimes, although one participant referred to a charge of fraud and another chose to not disclose her crime. Five mothers noted having been imprisoned on previous sentences. Naomi commented that this was her tenth period of incarceration and that she had been involved with the criminal justice system since she was a child. Three women noted that their partner and father to their child was involved in their crime, also serving time in prison concurrently to them. Although participants of this research did not specifically indicate their involvement in forms of family violence, New Zealand rates of intimate partner violence were the highest of the OECD countries reporting in the decade 2000-2010 (Turquart et al., 2011).

Research suggests that three quarters of women in New Zealand prisons are victims of family violence, rape and/or sexual assault (Department of Corrections, 2017c). This is inextricably linked to high rates of mental health issues and substance disorders that are prevalent in the lives of many women who offend (Department of Corrections, 2017c). Additionally, high levels of trauma, including intergenerational trauma based on a history of colonisation, is particularly relevant to Māori women in prison (Department of Corrections, 2017c).

Eight mothers identified that a family member (that was not their partner) had been incarcerated. Six out of the 12 women self-identified as New Zealand European, five Māori (included here is one Cook Island Māori) and one Pasifika. All mothers apart from one (Di) were interviewed at approximately two weeks prior to their release. Di was interviewed approximately seven months before her release when she had her child removed from the unit. After this Di spent a period of time at the drug treatment unit and was released shortly after her return to ARWCF. At this point I had not arranged to meet with Di, and although contact was made through Probation on her release, Di declined to participate further in this research. Due to the fact the pre-release interview gathered specific data from the participants, some of these are missing for Di.

Out of the 12 original participants, ten completed interviews one-month post-release. For Aroha, this interview took place within the prison as she had returned there due to breaching her parole. Out of these ten mothers, nine were again interviewed up to a year after release. For Naomi this follow-up interview took place inside prison where she had returned after breaching parole. Of the three participants that were not contacted after their release, one went into witness protection, another declined to be contacted when approached through probation. The final participant I was unable to contact when in the community, however I did conduct this post-release interview with her mother who had the care of her child at this time.

Table 4-1: Participant Demographics

Name:	Age	Ethnicity	Crime	Sentence Served	Previous Sentence	Previous Family in Prison
Lexi	33	NZE	Drugs	16 mths	N	N
Levani	44	Pasifika	Fraud	2 yrs 2 mths	N	N
Naomi	26	NZM	Undisclosed	1 yr 1 wk	10th x	Y
Aroha	25	NZM	Drugs	18 mths	N	Y
Kahurangi	22	NZM	Assault	10 mths	2nd x	Y
Tui	32	Cook Island Māori	Drugs	21 mths	N	Y
Di	24	NZE	-	-	N	-
Kate	21	NZE	Drugs	15 mths	2nd x	N
Nancy	24	NZE	Assault, Drugs	2.5 yrs	3rd x	Y
Emma	41	NZE	Drugs	10 mths	N	Y
Carrie	22	NZE	Assault	5 mths 4 days	N	Y
Hine	22	NZM	Assault	19 mths	3rd x	Y

Participant—Child Demographics

Table 4.2 provides a summary of participant information that relates to their child. As indicated in this table, out of the twelve mothers, nine had between one and ten children on the outside, including the three whāngai adopted children the mother of

ten had in her care.[28] Seven of these nine mothers were primary caregivers prior to incarceration, one had children who were grown up and had left the family home and one already had her other children in alternative care arrangements. All but one of the mothers was pregnant when entering the prison. This mother brought her child into prison with her at 14 months of age. Three first time mothers were included in the participant population.

Five mothers experienced a removal of their child from their care in the MBU due to disciplinary action. The age of these children at that time ranged between four months to 17 months of age. Three of these mothers had their children returned to them in the MBU after an appeal process. However, one of these mothers had their child removed again within two weeks of their return. The remaining two participants did not appeal the removal process. Their children remained outside with either a grandparent or their father. These two mothers finished their sentence in the main wing of the prison. On release, one of these mothers did not regain the care of her child and returned to prison pregnant, just after a year of her initial release. I lost contact with the other mother who had her child removed from the MBU due to her deciding to discontinue with this research after her release from the main wing of the prison.

Out of the ten mother-child pairs that remained together in the MBU, the age of these children on release ranged from nine and a half months to almost turning two years old. There were no children separated from their mother due to reaching the unit's upper age limit during this research.

Table 4-2: Participant-Child Demographics

Name:	**Child Removed**	**Pregnant on entering**	**Age of Child on Release**	**Breastfed**	**Other Children on the Outside**
Lexi	X	7 mths (2 wks LS1, 7 wks MBU)	14 months	Currently at 14 months	1 (with G-parents)
Levani	X	3 weeks	1.5 yrs	14 mths	10 (incl. 3 whānau boys with father)
Naomi	✓	2 mths	4 mths	4 mths	2 (one with g-parent and one with father)
Aroha	X	6 mths	14 mths	13 mths	3 (with partner)
Kahurangi	✓	7 mths	8 mths	Not for long due stress outside and inside	2 (with G-mother)
Tui	X	7 mths	19 mths	Currently	4 (with G-mother)
Di First time mother	✓	-	10 mths	-	N
Kate	X	3 weeks off birth	14.5 mths	6 mths	2 (with G-parents)
Nancy	X	8 weeks	22 mths	till 19 mths	2 (one with father and one cared for by a friend)
Emma	✓	8 weeks	9.5 mths	Currently	3 older children
Carrie First time mother	✓	Toddler at 14 mths	17 mths	-	N

Hine First time mother	X	3 mths (spent 18 wks hospital bed rest)	1 yr	till 5 mths	N

Key: An X in the column labelled 'Child Removed' indicates a child was not removed from the MBU.

Post-release Participant Demographics

Table 4.3 provides a summary of post-release participant information. Out of the ten participants that remained a part of this research after release, three of them no longer had the care of their child who was with them in the MBU when interviewed a year after release. One of these three mothers never regained the care of her child after having this child removed from her when in the MBU. Three participants out of this ten returned to prison for a brief period within a year of their release for breaching their parole. Two out of the three participants that returned to prison were also two of the participants identified as no longer having the care of their child when interviewed in the community a year after their initial release. A further participant who had completed two years in the MBU with her child indicated that within the year of her return to the community she had experienced Oranga Tamariki (formally known as Child Youth and Family) involvement and lost the care of her child for a period of time. Five out of the ten mothers were known to have maintained the custody of their children, found employment and housing, and seemingly continued with their lives in the community.

Table 4-3: Post-Release Demographics

Name:	**Home Living Situation Before Prison**	**Home Living Situation 9-12 Months Post-Release**	**Return to Prison During the Research Period**	**MBU child still in their care at 9-12 Months Post-Release**
Lexi	Family home (living with parents)	In own home with children	N	Y
Levani	Home (husband and children)	In own home with children / separated from partner	N	Y
Naomi	Home (partner and children)	Shared house with partner and cousins	Y	N
Aroha	Home (Partner and children)	Shared house with partner, cousin and children	Y	Y
Kahurangi	Home (partner and children)	Home (partner and children)	N	Y
Kate	Home (partner and children)	Home (partner and children)	N	Y
Nancy	Transient (without her children)	Home (partner and one child)	N	Child had been removed by Oranga Tamariki and returned
Emma	Home (partner, grown child)	Home (partner and children)	N	Y
Carrie	Family home (living with Mother)	Not able to be located	N	N
Hine	Home (with partner)	Staying with a friend	Y	N

Data Collection

Traditional notions of researcher objectivity created by distancing from participants and the research setting are increasingly replaced by ideas of researcher subjectivity and connectedness to the field (Arditti et al., 2010; Berryman, SooHoo, Orange & Nevin, 2013; Coffey, 1999). Choosing a qualitative approach for collecting the data directly reflected my positioning as a researcher and how I considered observing, recording and interpreting the fieldwork. I combined participant observations, in-

depth interviewing, and semi-structure interviews as the primary basis for data collection. Informed by feminist theory and qualitative methodology, this approach is associated with disciplines of anthropology and sociology, where the researcher and researched are understood as inseparable and thereby influence each other (Hellesø, Melby & Hauge, 2015). In contrast to quantitative research that aims to compare and verify, this qualitative approach focused on the depth of the stories from the perspective of the participants. Relationship building was one of the most significant features of this research to facilitate the gathering of rich qualitative data. Although significant connections were made with participants that facilitated the flow of conversation between us, some difficult situations were faced when the boundary between researcher and friend appeared loose. Facebook invites from participants were not accepted and a request by one participant to take her bank card to purchase some items for her while she was on home detention was declined. Participants understood when I explained that I was unable to do anything that might compromise the research process.

Researching in the way described above may be likened to phenomenological research, where focus is on the participant's perception, feelings and lived experiences (Guest et al., 2012; Holloway & Todres, 2003). This approach informed all aspects of this research, shaping the methods of data collection, observation, field notes, journal writing and qualitative in-depth interviewing. Comments were made by participants referring to other interviews outside of this research they had been involved with that were conducted differently and stated that the interviewer "did not know me and I just told them what they wanted to hear." Participants referred to the research I was conducting as their preferred style as they felt that in spending the time being within the unit I had more of an understanding of them, commenting that I gathered "a lot more real information".

Observation

Participant observation provided a wealth of contextual data that contributed to my fieldnotes and was used throughout this thesis to provide further in-depth illustrations of the immediate environment in which women and children lived.

These observations contributed to on-going discussions and ultimately conclusions that were drawn about the environment and relationships within it. For example, p. 92 describes my experience of the impact of the public address system within the prison that would at times interrupt my engagment with participants. Additionally, p. 132 describes how I observed officers holding towels to dry children when exiting the pool after swim lessons or embracing toddlers running towards them with arms outstretched. In this way, observation was a fundamental tool used in this qualitative research approach to enhance accounts of participants lived experience.

When conducting my fieldwork, I spent in excess of 120 initial hours in both CWP and ARWCF just being with the mothers in the unit, establishing a relationship, and involving myself in their everyday activities. In addition to this, I visited the units to conduct a first interview at a later stage with each of the participants before their release. Although conducting a pre-release interview was the aim of this visit, I always made time to see other participants and spend further time with them in the unit. I also spent extra time within the unit when I went to conduct additional interviews with mothers who experienced the removal of a child. As 11 pre-release interviews were conducted, and five interviews with mothers who had a child removed, this meant approximately an extra 96 hours were spent in the MBU observing and interacting with mothers and their children. In the post-release period, I conducted interviews with ten mothers at two different times and in one case, a grand-mother. These interviews mostly took place in their own homes. However, as previously indicated, two of these follow-up interviews took place within prison as mothers had breached parole conditions. These follow-up interviews took on average 2-3 hours each, with this time also spent interacting with other family members or friends that may have been around at different points throughout this interview time. This meant I spent overall 50 hours with participants in this post-release period. It is difficult to determine an exact figure, but it may be assumed that the observational component of this fieldwork constituted in excess of 266 hours embedded in the lives of the mothers whose stories were the focus of this research.

Using observation enabled me to experience events and situations from within the field (Geraghty, 2012). Details of verbal and non-verbal behaviours and a depth to descriptions of the environment that were factual, accurate, and comprehensive were documented with the aim to take the reader into the participants' world (Patton, 2002a). As a partial observer or participant observer, I acknowledged my presence was not full as I was not a member of my participant's community (Mulhall, 2003). As participant observer, I became involved and developed an awareness of the environment by engaging in the daily world of participants (Hammett, Twyman & Graham, 2014). As this research progressed, it was evident that rapport was further strengthened through my prolonged informal presence and engagement in informal conversations, facilitating a greater understanding of participants' reality and a deeper insight into their world (Hammett et al, 2014). I spent time accompanying the mothers on outings to playgroup and swimming class, helping out with the children and simply engaging daily with participants by being interested in whatever they might be doing. Through time spent in the field, I was further able to observe the spatial organisation of the surroundings, looking at the way people moved, dressed and interacted in their physical environment, further informing a social constructionist understanding (Mulhall, 2003).

Conducting research with a more familiar participant/researcher relationship required consideration of the maintenance of self-awareness, and professional/personal ethical conduct. However, emotional conversations with participants were unavoidable when dealing with the sensitive issues that inevitably developed in this child-focused environment where mothers had their babies with them in prison. Geraghty (2012) considered the possible contaminating effect on the data when the researcher is a significant presence in the field. In this research, I believed that the depth of participants' stories could only be achieved through such a close and connected approach. I found maintaining a continual reflective journal acknowledging the impact and potential detrimental effects of these close relationships made them a visible feature.

While observation as a method may be challenging, labour intensive and therefore often a more expensive research strategy (Hammett et al, 2014; Patton, 2002a), it

was an approach that offered significant rewards. According to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011), observation in the field is approached in two ways: either by participating in the moment without thoughts of writing up field notes, or by observing the moment with particular interest and writing about it. My fieldwork was a mix of both, which was at times challenging to manage. I would participate in any opportunity made available while engaging with focused attention to every moment, intent on manually recording these experiences at the next opportunity. Remaining engaged in order to take mental notes required persistent effort and concentration on my part. I address this practice and challenge in detail in the following section.

Field Notes

Interpretations differ over what constitutes field notes in the literature. Some researchers differentiate between field notes as what is observed in the behaviours of others noted at the time when in the field, and journal entries as a record reflecting their own personal thoughts and feelings when away from the field (Emerson et al., 2011). Additionally, much of the literature highlights the lack of material guiding field note writing (Geraghty, 2012; Tjora, 2006; Wolfinger, 2002). Therefore, it is important to clarify how field notes were used in this research how these were informed by the methodology and theoretical approach of my research design.

In the data collection phase of my research, the term “field notes” referred to the initial brief comments made in relation to the environment, events, interactions and my thoughts in the field at the time of observation or soon after. In other words, notes made in the field. Recording field notes inside the prison presented unique challenges. Using a notepad and pen while around the mothers felt intrusive, like they were the object of some examination. As such, I used mental imagery to try and remember key points in my head. At the earliest opportunity I then wrote notes when in private, to later stimulate recollection of important events (Emerson et al., 2011; Hammett et al., 2014; Mulhall, 2003). When in prison, private places were hard to find and these notes were frequently made in an unorganised way with

limited time—often in a shorthand only recognisable to me (Emerson et al., 2011; Mulhall, 2003). This process was reflected in the notes I produced when both inside the prison and after visiting participants in the community. Field notes included brief direct quotes from participants obtained during activities, informal interactions and researcher insights, and reflections and interpretations (Patton, 2002a). These notes were comprised of both hand-written and voice entries into a dictaphone, which were later transcribed after leaving the field.

In using field notes as a data gathering tool, considerable attention was paid to the influence and selective nature of fieldwork. I understood that the tacit knowledge of the researcher played a major role in determining what is noted, and what is disregarded as not worthy of noting (Mulhall, 2003; Wolfinger, 2002). As Peshkin (2001) argues, "we are never free of lenses through which to perceive" (p.242). Through the lens of the researcher, the genre, content and form of the field notes will be influenced (Hellesø et al., 2015). A "significance filter" is one way to understand which observations I regarded as important enough to document, acknowledging this was an interpretive and subjective process directly influenced by implicit knowledge (Tjora, 2006; Wolfinger, 2002). Field notes, informing my journal entries, became a systematic way of documenting a wide range of events that happened in the field (Emerson et al., 2011). Although, this was a tedious and lengthy process, I often referred back to this detailed and documented fieldwork material. Recording these comprehensive and consistent reflections and interactions while evaluating my role in the research setting informed future journal entries (Patton, 2002a). Rich field notes ensured that details were not lost, with the immediacy of feelings and thoughts preserved (Mulhall, 2003). From these field notes, I developed journal entries where I further explored theoretical insights, data analysis and personal reflections. This process is the focus of the following section

Reflective Journal Writing

From a social constructionist perspective, research is never without bias and is influenced by the cultural, historical and social beliefs of the researcher. To enhance the transparency of my work, I engaged with journal writing to critically document

my research journey and facilitate a deeper learning process, increasing the accountability and trustworthiness of my study (Hanrahan et al., 1999). Informed by feminist theory, journal writing encouraged reflexive practice in the data gathering and analysis stages of the research, with a view to identifying researcher influence on the research process (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). My reflections in journal entries allowed more critical, analytical reflection on my fieldnotes (Hellesø et al., 2015). These reflections allowed me to explore thoughts, feelings and interpretations about what had occurred that day, the processes of the research, and raise questions that I was unable to answer at the time. The following is an excerpt taken from my journal writing which illustrates how this process encouraged a deeper engagement with the fieldwork component of my research.

> These stories have impacted my life in ways that make me quiet when I leave, mulling over what has been said and digesting everything. Interviewing has been taxing emotionally and exhausting. Having to keep up with conversations that go all over the place, while trying to remember what it is that I want to ask, without cutting off the participants as they talk and talk. It continually astounds me that these women open their lives up to me and share their stories. How will I will be able to just cut off these women and have no future contact? They are all a massive part of this research and have contributed so much. That means a lot to me and I am grateful for their input and what they have invested. An hour of their time for what? They are busy busy women with children (Jacqui, 8th June, 2014).

Critical reflective journal writing in this way made the research process transparent, providing an audit trail of thoughts, decisions and choices guiding the researcher and reader through the research journey to the conclusions (Ortlipp, 2008). I used a first-person narrative to articulate a more personal and informal account, rather than an objective third person stance (Hellesø et al, 2015). Following a constructionist framework, my journal writing was an appropriate place to be honest about personal beliefs, attitudes and opinions, and to recognise how these impacted my

understandings. The journal was a place for my viewing only to encourage honest, unobstructed free writing (Hanrahan et al., 1999).

Qualitative Interviewing

Qualitative interviewing helped me gain insight into mothers' experiences, using their words to appreciate their understandings, and gather their stories (Patton, 2002b). An important distinction in qualitative interviewing is made between using in-depth, semi-structured or standardised survey interviewing processes (Elliot, 2005). The qualitative methods of any research are determined by the theoretical foundations informing the process (Elliot, 2005). This style of in-depth qualitative research reflected social work values and ethics by valuing the time spent with participants and honouring the diversity among them (Riessman & Quinney, 2005). For this research, in-depth interviews conducted over three separate occasions using thematic analysis were best suited to preserve the feminist and constructionist ideas underpinning this inquiry.

I began by constructing detailed questions I was interested in asking participants. I did this to get the most out of interviews, organise my thoughts, become a better listener, and to encourage participants to tell their stories. I formed semi-structured questions from this lengthy document to enable me to remain focused on key research topics when interviewing. Additionally, I used open questions to give participants the opportunity to elaborate on what was said and minimise misleading questions, as opposed to using closed questions inviting a "yes" or "no" response (Cleak & Egan, 2016; Floersch & Longhofer, 2010; Harms, 2007). Chase (2003) notes that this preparation before interviewing is a critical yet underemphasised part of the research process. This interview schedule was approved by the Department of Corrections and the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee (Appendix 3). As this research focused on the telling of stories, qualitative interviewing emphasised and encouraged participants to share their accounts in their own way. In this research, I conducted interviews over three stages to encourage depth and add breadth to a participants account.

Three-Phase Interviewing

I adopted 'three-phase interviewing' as a comprehensive approach to support the storied nature of this study, thereby adding to the reliability of findings (Seidman, 2006). Researching in this way meant that in addition to interviews taking place within the prison prior to participants release, contact after reintegration and conducting face-to-face interviews with participants in the community further enhanced the strength of this research with data gathered over time. Interviews were staggered over a three-year period. This meant questions were able to flow over more than one interview in terms of clarifying or further probing a line of questioning thought to be important (Eloff & Moen, 2003; Holloway and Jefferson, 2000).

First Interviews

First interviews were determined by a participants' release date and took place approximately two weeks before this time. First interviews began in January 2013 when I conducted them with 11 out of the 12 original participants.[29] Critical here was maintaining close engagement with prison staff in order to keep track of participants' parole board dates and subsequent release. Flexibility, an adaptable attitude, constant lines of communication with prison liaisons, and a fully refundable and changeable airfare were the most practical ways to manage such a tentative research itinerary.

First interviews were often conducted in the units within the MBU, or occasionally in an interview room, the communal hall or another area within the self-care units.[30] First interviews intended to explore participant's experience of their time within the MBU, their challenges and their achievements (see Appendix 9 for a First Interview Guide). An important focus at this stage was the much excitement, apprehension, uncertainty and nervousness about release. Having previously spent time with these women, we already had an established relationship. This meant the interview could

[29] One mother was released not long after a period at the drug treatment unit, after which contact was lost.

[30] The dynamics of interviewing in different kinds of environments was discussed previously.

begin at a more familiar stage where we could talk immediately in more depth about experiences to date, preparations for release, and future aspirations for them and their child. At the conclusion of this interview, participants were invited to sign a post-release consent form to agree to continue with this research on release, and asked to provide information to facilitate contact when in the community (Appendix 10). This time spent relationship building while mothers were inside the prison laid the foundations for the second interview scheduled a month after their release.

Second Interviews

Second interviews were planned to be held outside of prison, up to four weeks post-release. However, one participant was recalled back to prison within this time, and therefore her second interview took place inside. I was unable to maintain contact and follow up with two of the original 12 participants at this stage. The Principal Research Advisor for the Department of Corrections and I identified four weeks post-release as an optimal time for second interviews. This would avoid the immediate chaos of reintegration while still being able to capture the initial impact of release from prison. Participants determined the location of these interviews and, if possible, these were held where they indicated that they felt most comfortable. Most often interviews were conducted in the participants' own home or where they were staying. The intended focus of second interviews was on participants' reflections on their time spent in prison and their early reintegration experiences (see Appendix 11 for a Second Interview Guide).

Transitioning from interviewing within the confines of prison to the community raised several issues for me as a researcher. In prison I felt secure and safe, most often within reasonable proximity of prison officers, and under constant monitoring, surveillance and security checks. In the community, interviews were experienced quite differently with feelings of vulnerability when on my own within participants' communities. This exposure was felt from general unfamiliarity with the participants' neighbourhood, their home and the people within the interview space. Being vigilant and aware of my surroundings for up to a two-hour interview was exhausting. Measures were taken to account for these insecurities, such as asking if any dog on

the property could be put away, notifying my family member before entering the participants property, estimating a time that I would phone when finished the interview, asking who might be home or who might be coming home, and making sure I always had unobstructed access to leave if necessary. However, there were no incidents during my fieldwork that in any way compromised my safety.

Third Interviews

Third and final interviews were scheduled between nine- and 12-months post-release at a time convenient for the participant. Variations in length of time to meet with participants in the community was due to the considerable time it took to successfully contact certain individuals. Sometimes I attempted initial contact at nine months but successful contact was not made until 12 months. Upon release, some participants tended to be particularly transient, therefore scheduling interviews had to be flexible. It took further time for arrangements to be made to travel to meet with participants. The Principal Research Advisor for the Department of Corrections and I decided that an interview around nine-months post-prison would be sufficient to give the participants enough time after release to comment on establishing life back in the community. In this interview I wanted to listen to the participant's longer-term experience of reintegration with their children and relationships with their family and community (see Appendix 12 for a Third Interview Guide). The locations for these interviews were once again determined by the participants based on their comfort. These interviews most often occurred in the participant's home.

Additional Interviews

Six additional unscheduled interviews took place. Five of these were with participants who had their babies removed while in the MBU and placed with family in the community. Interviews were held close to the time of these significant events to capture the immediate feelings of the mothers. Another additional interview was with a participant with whom I had completed all scheduled interviews, after which she subsequently returned to prison. As I was already at ARWCF visiting the MBU, I felt it appropriate to visit with this participant, offering the opportunity to extend on

her significant story of the journey previously shared with me. Informal conversations were held with unit managers at this time to provide further perspective. Their comments about the reasons for the removal of the child implied that there were further circumstances leading up to this final decision.

Audio Recording and Transcribing

I used an audio recording device in all interviews conducted during this research. This device was not used when I was informally and casually spending time in the units with mothers and their children. As mentioned above, I recorded information during these times through field notes and journal entries. Audio recording in the interview setting where lengthy accounts were offered was advantageous (McCormack, 2001). It was impractical to think that everything could be remembered and documented in this interview situation without such a device (Elliot, 2005; Minichiello, Aroni & Hays, 2008). Audio recording meant that as the interviewer I did not have to take my focus away from the participant, I could fully engage in this interaction to assist in the flow of dialogue. Audio recording also enabled all the verbal nuances to be recorded, the pauses, stutters, hesitations and laughter, which significantly contributed to the later analysis of the transcript (Elliot, 2005). In this way, I was able to provide an accurate record of the interview that I could continually revisit throughout the research and analytical process. Furthermore, I did not have to make judgement calls at the time of interviewing as to what got included or left out of the recording (McCormack, 2001).

Participants were continually made aware that the recording device could be turned off at any time. Interviews often started with casual conversations about other things, just to work through the obvious uncomfortable stage of a recording device being turned on. The mere presence of the recording device, its placement on the table, and the moving clock face recording the time, were all potentially intrusive features. To account for this, I always sought permission to turn on the device. I then placed it face-down to the side of where we were sitting to be as unobtrusive as possible. The initial awkwardness inevitably passed as I further explained to participants that the recording of interviews was for my own archives so as not to

miss any of their valuable stories. After the recording of an interview, I then transcribed the material myself.

Transcribing was recognised as an interpretive practice rather than a purely technical procedure (Bird, 2005). From a constructionist perspective, this process was inevitably influenced by my methodological orientation, theoretical stance and worldview (Minichiello et al., 2008; Riessman, 2008). Similar to field notes, during transcription decisions were made about what to include, leave out, what was emphasised, and which annotations were important or even noticed. I undertook hours of transcribing my own interview material to stay connected with the data, while acknowledging the influence that I had on the transcribing process. This was a considerable task with approximately 35 interviews to transcribe taking on average four hours each to complete. Time spent on this process was in excess of 140 hours. I believed this significant investment of time at this stage enhanced the analysis process as it encouraged a familiarity with the data. From a constructionist stance, the process of interviewing, transcribing, and analysing the interviews were not separate stages but interrelated, thereby influencing and impacting on the interpretation of the material (Riessman, 2008). Transcribing immediately after each interview meant I was able to include things I remembered from the interview—such as emotions on faces and body language—that an audio device was incapable of recording.

Thematic Data Analysis

Qualitative methodology and feminist theory lay the foundations from which I approached the analysis of the data. This approach was appropriate as it was grounded in the lives of participants, interested in their stories and specific to their experiences. In conducting social work research, I was mindful of the interpretive impact I had as researcher over the research process. To mitigate this, I considered the position that I shared vis-a-vis participants through Comack's (1999) womens' standpoint approach (discussed in Chapter Three). This qualitative approach allowed me to follow participants on their storytelling journey. However, qualitative research techniques are numerous and diverse and represent a wide range of theoretical

perspectives (Guest et al., 2012). Although this flexibility was appealing, it could be criticised as inconsistent and lacking coherence when epistemologies and procedures seemingly overlap each other and appear interchangeable (Holloway & Todres, 2003). To address this critique and demonstrate a robust qualitative approach, I provided a coherent illustration of the epistemological, theoretical and methodological foundations informing the development of a qualitative research method in Chapter Three. Further to this, I decided thematic data analysis to be the most suitable qualitative approach that would enable me to facilitate the depth of individual stories through accounts of personal experience.

Thematic data analysis is a widely used method in the qualitative family (Braun, Clarke, Hayfield & Terry, 2019). For this research, the framework provided by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) was used to conduct thematic analysis. This approach enabled themes and patterns of meaning to be recognised in the data through data familiarisation, data coding, and theme development (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Developing a codebook for this type of analysis requires considerable time exploring and developing a deep understanding of the data, generating numerous codes in an organic analytical process (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Guest et al., 2012). Thematic analysis further emphasised the active role of the researcher and their subjectivity as a resource in relation to the research to understand meaning as contextual, and the significance of multiple realities (Braun & Clarke; 2013).

Framework for Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis of the data followed the six-phase process indicated by Braun and Clarke (2006): familiarisation of the data, coding, theme development, revising themes, defining themes, and write-up. I recognised this process was a nonlinear course where my task was to move back and forth through the transcripts. The following sections illustrate these phases from my research from the audio and then transcribed stories of this study.

First audio:

When I began the analysis, I found it was necessary to listen to each audio recording to take time to once again hear the participant's story. Important in this phase of *familiarisation* was the engaged but informal nature of engaging with the data, while being reflective, thoughtful and inquisitive (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013). I listened to one participant at a time, preceding from the first pre-release interview, followed by their first community and second community interviews, and any extra meetings that might have taken place. Spending this time with the individual narratives enabled me to reconnect with participants and their stories at the time they were told (McCormack, 2000a). The audio took me back to that place of interviewing, returning me to that context, and triggering senses that reminded me of this interaction. Although time consuming, I found listening to the audio was a crucial step in the analysis process that elicited a deep sense and feel for the participant's story.

After listening to each set of interviews, I wrote a simple biography to develop a picture of the person behind the words. This was informed through participants' stories and supplemented by the extensive field notes and journal entries I made in the field. When writing these biographies, I made notes about what was interesting in their story, connections to existing literature, identified contradictions and aspects of their personality, and asked questions to add depth to the analysis process and further inform subsequent coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006, Braun et al., 2019). After listening to the audio version, I started a first reading of the transcript.

First reading:

Reading of the transcripts was an effort to systematically and thoroughly make sense of the data through a process of *coding,* where chunks of text were organised under developing headings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Popular to health and social science domains, thematic analysis in the current study was inductive, concentrating on description and exploration. According to thematic analysis, this inductive process uses the content of the data to direct coding and theme development (Braun &

Clarke, 2012). Ultimately, dominant or common themes emerged from the transcripts based on what the participants had to say. This process is different from ones which seek to analyse text by reference to predetermined categories. Recognising this risk in becoming overly focused on the text, reflective journals were reread to re-establish feelings and emotions that had been recorded in the moment to further inform this understanding of the participant.

At this time, I experimented with coding and logging transcripts onto a coding sheet. I started by reading through participants transcripts of the interview held two weeks before release. I cut and pasted large descriptive sections, including researcher and participant interactions, hesitations and expressions, into the emerging thematic headings of the coding sheet. To facilitate the organisation of the data into meaningful groups, I adapted the coding example provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) to create a codebook to explore the data in more detail. According to Guest and colleagues (2012), the development of a codebook is a discrete and significant step in the process of applied thematic analysis. In this way, each transcript was analysed using the codebook which included the name of the code, when to use the code, and when not to use the code, and an example or excerpt from the participant that referred to this code (Guest et al., 2012). Once all pre-release interviews were coded, I then started with the first community interviews. I built on the same codebook; however, I changed the colour of the font to indicate this excerpt was drawn from a different point in time. Building on suggestions made by Braun and Clarke (2006), I took as many potential themes or codes from the data as time permitted as I understood that different ideas might become interesting at different stages. I also paid attention to the fact that excerpts of data might fit into more than one relevant theme. This process was fulfilling and forged deep connections to participants' stories. However, it was significantly time consuming and challenging trying to account for such an immense amount of data and developing codes to capture the richness of the data. Table 4 is an example from the codebook that I used in my analysis, illustrating the colour change to indicate which interview that section referred to.

Table 4-4: Example of a Code from Codebook

Name of code:	Description of code:	What code includes:	What code does not include:	Example of code:
<u>Fish Bowl Parenting</u> Related to Other Mothers Concern, Officer Participant Relationship	Participant's stories about parenting in prison and the challenges this brings with it.	: Dynamics between staff and participants over parenting. : Challenges and tension of parenting within the constraints of prison. : managing challenging children's behaviour in the prison environment : parenting under the judgement of other mothers	: Dynamics and concerns between women in terms of other mothers parenting style (see Other Mothers Concern)	L: That is probably the hardest part. And probably when you do the baby shopping and that, you know, D loves camembert cheese and that but I was not allowed to but camembert cheese on the groceries because you know "you don't buy your child camembert cheese". But I did anyway, I still continued buying camembert because she just woofs it down. She loves it, and it is a mild cheese. Yeah. But they must think that you eat it or something. C (ARWCF): Not really, it was just a place to be more or less. It is like a, um ok well, you know how I was telling you like you are inside, you can't go anywhere, you gotta abide by their rules and all that sort of thing, but having your baby in there, it is quite, quite, it is quite tough to be honest. Because you have got one set of rules for you, one set of rules for your child. You got to abide by those rules, if you slip out of those rules once, they can just come and take your baby and that's it. So it was sort of a, don't want to mess up, otherwise your kids going to go. And having that tension behind your child that is quite a bit. You know what I mean? C (ARWCF): And in that on top of trying to care for your child in the best way possible, and having the system on your back all the time, is stressful. Cause you got officers watching over you and you got them telling you not to do this with your kids, not to do this with your kids, not to do that with your kids you know. And it's the undermining, you as a mother. Like practically for me it was like saying that you don't know how to be a mum, do it this way. And it sort of peeved me off a bit, but I sorta got used to the fact that they were always going to be like that, regardless, so just for me to get used to it, suck it up. But it got to the point where, have you ever had that moment where you have like, you just wanna be by yourself, you just wanna have you time with you and your child, and then you have someone jumping in and you just kind of bite their head off if they say out of line things or whatever....that is where I got to.

				N: (CWP): Yeah the officers. I struggled with them. Trying to tell us what to do with our own kids. It was like, oh no no no, when you are a mum and you have got your child with you and you have got that authority over your child, but then you don't. You know, you have still got to stick to those rules, but who are they to tell us how to bring our kids up.
Colour Chart Pre-Release First Community Second Community Removal of Child Recall				

Second reading:

Revising and defining themes is one of the later phases of thematic analysis and was done in this research during the second reading of participants' accounts. I developed the numerous codes into groups or categories, establishing early themes, with definitions providing parameters around what constituted that idea. It was important here that I did not get too attached to codes and developing themes, but to recognise that this early stage was an organic process (Braun et al., 2019). I read transcripts again with these emerging ideas in mind and further evolved this analysis with checks and rechecks within themes and between participants, identifying developing patterns in the data (Braun et al., 2019). I devised thematic maps to visually display generated ideas and facilitate the development of themes and potential sub-themes illustrating the relationships between them (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013). Here I negotiated inconsistencies, differentiated specific ideas, and stood back to view the analysis as a coherent whole. Thematic maps were completed for each interview with a participant, and then an overall map was developed of the key themes that emerged for that participants' account over time. These thematic maps could then be looked at as a group with similarities and differences discussed (See Appendix 13 for my example of a thematic map).

As data processing evolved, the volume of data and the large chunks of text I wanted to use meant maintaining the codebook became particularly difficult. At this stage, I looked to use the computer software tool NVivo. This programme was not used for any of its analytical capabilities, as I believed that computer aided analysis might be at risk of overemphasising certain parts of the research at the expense of understanding these themes in terms of the whole (Holloway & Todres, 2003). I also would have felt further removed from participants intimate stories without the immense involvement it took to do the manual analysis myself. However, NVivo was beneficial in this research when used as a computer storage system, serving the same function as the codebook where large sections of data were transferred under developing thematic headings. NVivo provided efficient storing capabilities to assist

with the volume of data in this research and meant that I could easily locate excerpts in relation to the developing themes.

At the end of this process, I had all transcripts thoroughly read and coded under broad thematic headings. Additionally, I had in-depth personal summaries of participants, including their journeys, my impressions, more personal aspects of their stories and each participant's thematic map relating to their interviews. Analysis at this stage required further immersion in the data, engagement with the illustrations, and then the reflection on each case to situate it in relation to the whole to develop some grand themes and ideas pertinent to this data. Much time was spent returning to the transcripts to further generate ideas. I stopped returning to the transcripts when it was apparent that nothing more relating to this theme could be found (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The final stage of writing up the research, consisted of minor tidying up of the text for the purposes of coherence and consistency, enabling the story to be easily read (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Chunks of verbatim text were kept intact specifically to preserve the storyline of the data in a genuine and authentic way (Caulley, 2008). Thematic analysis used in this way meant more of what the participant narrated was communicated in their own words from their own context.

Researching as a Social Worker

As a social work researcher, my work was guided by beliefs embedded in the profession that value social justice, human rights, inclusivity and giving voice to marginalised populations with a view to social change (Pease, 2010). My social work background and education inspired the methods and procedures used in this research. My fieldwork reflected my social work training and compliance with the profession's ethics and values (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2015). A feminist theoretical perspective and social constructionist epistemology motivated my commitment to learn from participants who knew more than I did in this qualitative social work research. It was evident when inside the prison environment that I was not the expert and I relied on participants to explain prison jargon and help me with institutional procedures. In this social work research, I learnt from others who knew more than I did, and I assumed this role quite

naturally. Freire (1998) captures this approach of learner suggesting that researchers "who come from 'another world' to the world of people do so not as invaders. They do not come to teach or transmit or to give anything, but rather to learn, with the people, about the people's world" (p.180). With this in mind, I never pretended to understand what participants spoke about if I was unsure, always asking for clarification. My obvious naivety of the prison system often amused the group. However, this lack of knowledge did have benefits, with participants taking more time to explain and elaborate on what they were meaning than they might have if they were talking to someone who claimed more experience (Liamputtong, 2010; Sherif, 2001; Wise, 2011). Castellano (2007) proposed this methodological approach of becoming a "nonexpert" serves to diminish the distance between researchers and researched and facilitate the building of trust and rapport.

The considerable amount of informal time spent with participants in the field is a valuable feature of this research. For the social worker, time is one of the most precious resources we offer participants, through listening and providing people with an unhurried opportunity to tell their story to make them feel valued and worthy as an individual (Maidment & Egan, 2016). In spending casual periods with participants, this process of engagement characteristic of social work research, developed over time rather than occurring as a discrete event (Egan, 2016). Investing time in taking small steps towards gaining trust and becoming familiar with the participant's perspective of their world established the foundations of our relationship (Minichiello et al., 2008). Conducting research in this genuine and authentic way was critical for developing mutual, collaborative and productive research partnerships necessary for this in-depth research (Harms, 2007). The practical steps taken to achieve this approach are written about previously in the Data Collection section of this chapter.

The human element involved in this type of in-depth research required certain professional social work skills to be used. I showed genuine interest through active listening to what the participant had to say and used open questions to gently probe into aspects of their story to encourage elaboration (Harms, 2007). I demonstrated respect through valuing the uniqueness of each participant (Egan, 2016). It was not

necessarily the questions that were asked in the interview, but the emotional attentiveness and interest I displayed as researcher that achieved the level of engagement that directly influenced the quality of interview material (Minichiello et al., 2008; Riessman, 2008). I felt it was important in this social work research to consistently demonstrate an authentic and non-judgmental approach (Antle & Regehr, 2003). I displayed transparency through a responsiveness to participant's questions that proved favourable in gaining trust. Although boundaries to our relationship were established from the start and outlined in the consent form (Appendix 8), I was consistently open and honest about myself, my life and my hopes for this research, which served to build bonds and further create rapport (Josselson, 2007). This type of interviewing, characterised by reciprocity, is akin to principles underpinning feminist research. Liebling (2001) supported this idea, suggesting that more effective research involves a level of investment of shared feelings and emotions, and that such turmoil is productive. Relationships developed with participants in this research as we shared emotions of joy, sadness, tears and sympathy, when listening to stories of past and present with sincerity, empathy and a determination to understand.

Appreciating and valuing reciprocity as a significant feature of this research was vital when working with participants, and in particular with Māori. In this way, women offered me their knowledge and tikanga[31] where I relied on participant's experiences to further inform my cultural understanding. This intense focus on providing an opportunity for women to be listened to, was in an effort for participants to maintain mana and ownership over their individual stories and understanding of their own reality. The value placed on whanaungatanga meant that together we developed an understanding of each other in a reciprocal relationship that became solid enough to survive a transition from inside prison to the community.

This level of emotional involvement with participants did raise important issues about how to protect the integrity of research—a common issue in social work research. From a social constructionist perspective, I would argue that it was

[31] Tikanga: the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context.

impossible to be impartial to the research population, and that research itself is an act of human engagement (Liebling, 2001). Nevertheless, we must constantly be aware of whether this level of emotional connection is informing our research or distorting it. To account for these close relationships, researchers must engage in a high level of reflexivity to recognise their presence and their influence on the research process (Connolly, 2003). Reflection through journal writing was used in this research, where I personally evaluated how I connected with participants and conducted myself. My approach was always mindful of social work values and ethics in participant relationships (Cooper & Rigney, 2009). I adhered to principles of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics, demonstrating respect and integrity, thereby ensuring a non-discriminatory approach to participants (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2015). Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and bicultural awareness were honoured, where personal connections or whānaungatanga were a priority, established to facilitate interactions and understandings that were vital when researching cross culturally. Knowing each other on a personal level, and not just as people undertaking prescribed roles, reflected feminist ideals (Oliver, Spee & Wolfgramm, 2003), creating an environment conducive to anti-oppressive social work research.

I gave consideration to how participants felt at the conclusion of often emotional interviews. In this social work research, it was important that I managed participants sensitively, acknowledging challenges and emotions, to leave them in a position of strength after having contributed to a meaningful relational experience (Bunston, 2009). I asked participants repeatedly during interviews if they were ok, if they wanted to stop or if they had any questions to ensure wellbeing (Josselson, 2007). Prior to the community interviews I made inquiries about support groups or health services in the participants' area and carried the relevant pamphlets or information to hand on to participants if they were interested. I also recognised that it was inevitable that a level of emotion would be experienced when discussing aspects of their lives, however this was felt to complement and not compromise the research process. I too experienced emotions that I shared with participants within this context. It was unavoidable that my positioning as a social work researcher often

conflicted with the responsibility felt to support mothers, which made this work at times complex and difficult when boundaries of our relationship threatened to become blurred. A valuable approach was acknowledging these mutual feelings, and I made preparations to assist participants if required to connect with further support.

Ethical Considerations

Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research is a methodological process to ensure robust and rigorous investigative procedures are used throughout that stand up to the scrutiny of others (Loh, 2013). Quantitative research uses terms such as reliability, generalizability and validity to establish scientific rigour, but debates continue over the appropriateness of applying these terms to qualitative research (Loh, 2013; Noble & Smith, 2015). Qualitative research has been critiqued for its lack of thoroughness and transparency, stating that qualitative findings are merely a "collection of personal opinions subject to researcher bias" (Noble & Smith, 2015, p.34). Validity and reliability in qualitative research are questioned when researcher perceptions and understandings are relied upon to evaluate the data rather than using statistical correlations (Geraghty, 2012; Mulhall, 2003; Tjora, 2006).

Rather than defending qualitative methodology using quantitative terminology, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that the trustworthiness of qualitative research be assessed in terms of credibility instead of the scientific term validity, transferability instead of generalizability, dependability instead of reliability and lastly confirmability (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen, & Kyngäs, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Loh, 2013). Each of these qualitative criteria signal strategies for researching that enhance the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, for example using thick descriptions to enhance transferability and member checks to increase credibility.[32] These criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and the strategies

[32] 'Thick description' is the term used in qualitative research when attention is paid to the contextual detail in observing and interpreting the social meaning of an event (Dawson, 2010).

proposed to enhance the qualitative trustworthiness will be discussed with relation to this research project.

Credibility

To assess credibility, one must determine whether the study measured what it intended to at the outset (Shenton, 2004). This qualitative research applied several strategies to enhance the credibility of this work. Prolonged engagement over extended periods in the field facilitated the development of trust with participants (Guba, 1981). Continued observation ensured that I was able to identify both consistencies and inconsistencies in participants' stories over time, enhancing the research credibility (Guba, 1981). Peer debriefing meant detaching from the field and receiving professional supervision (Guba, 1981). These conversations with my supervisors addressed alternative approaches, offered different ideas, confronted bias and taken for granted assumptions, and in doing so strengthened the credibility of my findings (Shenton, 2004).

Member checking within this research was used for participants to comment, provide further context, rationale or alternative explanation or interpretation (Creswell, 2009; Loh, 2013; Patton, 2002b). Each participant was offered transcripts or summaries of our interview at any stage of our relationship. However, what proved more useful was testing for the accuracy of the data as we went through our interview, repeating back to participants what I understood from what they were saying and asking for feedback on the accuracy of this interpretation (Shenton, 2004).

Transferability

Thick descriptions were used when writing the findings of this research, providing accounts of the setting, participants, environment and themes described in rich, deep and dense detail. This aimed to create a real and lively account making the reader feel like they were in the world of the research participants (Creswell, 2007; Creswell & Miller, 2000). To write this way was an important measure of credibility (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Using this technique considered the degree of fit or

comparison between one context and another (Guba, 1981; Noble & Smith, 2015). With rich descriptive accounts, the audience was able to make judgements, compare this research to others, and draw their own conclusions (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Elo et al., 2014; Noble & Smith, 2015; Shenton, 2004).

Dependability

Dependability addresses the stability of the data across time (Elo et al., 2014). From a positivist perspective, research is subject to evaluations to determine if the same research were to be repeated in the same context with the same participants, then similar findings would be identified (Shenton, 2004). To enhance dependability in the current study, I reported the steps taken in this research process in detail, to allow future research to replicate these same steps however acknowledging also that their results may differ (Shenton, 2004). To do this, I kept a comprehensive audit trail, noting in detail how data was collected and analysed, thereby demonstrating the process by which the interpretations of the data were developed (Guba, 1981). My research recorded this trail of accountability through reflections and observations that were noted in my written records and analysis mapping (Guba, 1981; Creswell & Miller, 2000). This documenting was detailed in daily field notes and provided a research log that accounted for all the activities and steps of data collection, interview transcripts and critical journal entries recorded at the end of each day. This writing reflected initial impressions, emerging patterns, possible theories and subsequent thought processes that were a result of these deliberations. I spent considerable time compiling critical journal entries that ultimately reflected a developing trail of experiences and subsequent research growth.

Confirmability

Confirmability relates to the degree to which steps are taken to ensure the outcomes of research develop through the stories of the participants, reflecting their experiences and ideas, and not a result of the researcher's preference and influence over the analysis (Shenton, 2004). Practising reflexivity is critical to addressing potential researcher bias. Daily journaling meant contemplative and reflective

writing about participant interactions became a routine part of my research schedule. Journaling was where self-disclosure of personal beliefs and biases were exposed. Creswell & Miller (2000) suggest that introducing the researcher and determining their positioning be done at the outset of the study so that the reader has a transparent and well-defined understanding of the researcher's stance. In writing up this thesis, I began in the first few pages with a personal introduction about myself, my perspectives and how I developed this research. In doing this I positioned myself early on to make visible the standpoint I shared with participants of this research, previously suggested by Comack (1999) as a place from which to listen to and hear what participants were saying.

Guba (1981) suggested that using member checking for credibility, thick descriptions for transferability, audit trails for dependability and reflexive practice for conformability, is required for conducting reliable qualitative research. As researching from a social constructionist framework requires appreciation of the interpretive aspects of analysis, these ethical considerations ensured that this research was transparent, systematic, well organised and therefore a trustworthy piece of research.

Informed Consent

Within the confines of the prison environment it is difficult to determine whether decisions and actions are ever truly autonomous (Hayes, 2006). The inherent power imbalance that exists when research is conducted is exacerbated with those in prison. Because of the diminished autonomy of research participants, there is risk of influence, coercion and potential for abuse when dealing with this vulnerable population and seeking voluntary informed consent (Schuklenk, 2000). Every effort was made to assure participants that involvement was voluntary, emphasising the fact that I was an independent researcher from the University of Canterbury and that everything we spoke about would be kept confidential if it was not going to cause harm to themselves or to someone else. However, the original consent process that aimed to satisfy the human ethics committee used in this research was arguably a static agreement that did not take into account the potential risks or threats involved

with the interactive and unpredictable nature of qualitative researching (Josselson, 2007).

Before signing this consent document as required by the Human Ethics Committee, the vulnerable positioning of participants of this research was considered. I understood that this consent process would take time, with the primary focus on building rapport with participants (McCormack, 2001). Relationships were established before the topic of the research and participant involvement was talked through in any detail, where transparency about what was involved emphasised the rights and obligations of research participants. I made use of the feminist notion of *process consent* (Ellis, 2007, p.23). This process involved continually checking with participants to address the dynamics of changing research relationships, participant satisfaction with the process, and their willingness to continue (Ellis, 2007).

Summary

The research design discussed above developed as a result of the approach I wanted to take towards gaining an understanding of the experiences of the mothers who are part of the MBU. As social work research, this qualitative approach fulfilled the expectations of my profession by honouring participants and their stories. In this chapter, I described in detail how this aim was achieved from the outset of this research, entry into the prison, methods of data collection, data analysis and finally through to ethical considerations of trustworthiness and informed consent. Adopting a constructionist epistemology meant that I understood there to be "multiple realities, and multiple worlds, based on peoples' varied interpretive constructs and categories" (Drisko, 2013, p.82). Informed by feminist ideals, the design of this research built in extended periods of informal engagement and relationship building. In researching this way numerous personal stories were shared and in-depth accounts of events in everyday interactions were noticed that would have otherwise been lost if I had relied only on interviewing (Castellano, 2007). My use of qualitative methodology and reflexive thematic analysis provided me with the tools to conduct extensive work to find new theoretical insights and to generate original themes unique to this data set. Although researching within the context of the prison was

difficult, with unavoidable challenges part of the researching experience, I think the thorough account of potential difficulties provided in this chapter shares the struggles experienced in the often isolating and lonely work of prison research (Jewkes, 2012).

5. MONITORED MOTHERING

The Experience of Managed Parenting within a Prison Nursery

The Mothers with Babies Unit (MBU) was established to provide an environment of increased opportunities for bonding and relationship development through dedicated facilities and parenting support (Department of Corrections, 2017b). By providing a space to encourage mothers to form healthy attachments with their children, the MBU aimed to prevent mother-child separations resulting from imprisonment. Bringing the nursery into the prison created a unique space, merging two conceptually different settings representing conflicting intentions. One is a correctional institution concerned primarily with aspects of safety and security (Eloff & Moen, 2003), while the other is a nurturing space that facilitates attachment and development through supportive relationships. This complex, merged environment within the prison required negotiations of power and status between officers, prisoners and the penal system. As a result, mothers participating in this research experienced a range of both opportunities and limitations, highlighting the complex nature of this parenting space.

It is possible that the structure of the MBU, and the programme it delivered, provided some women with encouragement, close relationships and respite from their outside worlds. It may have also simultaneously reinforced technologies of power, punishment and dominance as tools of discipline (as envisaged by Foucault, 1977, 1980). The nature of the MBU space must also consider individual human rights. Significant here is to consider Connolly and Ward's (2007) suggestion that offenders do not relinquish their rights when they are incarcerated but acknowledge that their access to human rights are "curtailed" when in prison (p.82). According to Ward and Birgden (2007), human rights of offenders should be maintained

irrespective of their offending, although incarceration might restrict the individual's ability to exercise some of these rights. Although the MBUs purpose is to offer mothers the opportunity to parent by taking responsibility and making decisions for their child, the reality of mothering within the prison was at times experienced quite differently by the mothers in this research. The presence of these disciplinarian technologies meant some aspects of the prison routine appeared to contradict the intention of the MBU to provide a nurturing space, while other characteristics had the potential to offer something different to an often strained officer-prisoner relationship. The stories in this chapter highlight the ambiguities that appeared as part of the MBU environment.

This chapter illustrates the experience of parenting within the MBU through the stories told by participants. These accounts stress how the unit provides opportunities to develop supportive and productive officer-prisoner relationships through the sharing of experiences with the children. However, this dual role of the MBU officer to provide both support to new mothers while maintaining a custodial environment was ultimately tricky to navigate for participants. Mothers reflected on ways in which their experiences of constraint within a correctional system of procedures and regulations influenced their parenting. They shared how living in close confinement with other mothers provided a family type arrangement of support, with children even referring to each other as siblings. Nevertheless, the nature of this confined living added additional observation and surveillance pressures, experienced as mechanisms of control. How mothers resisted and adapted to this unique environment is carefully explored in this study.

The Dual Role of Officers

Prison officers' adherence to professional ethics and moral obligations includes conducting themselves in a way that promotes human rights and the protection of the dignity, self-esteem and moral status of prisoners (Ward & Birgden, 2007). New Zealand adheres to several human rights standards to protect the right of prisoners being treated with humanity and respect (Department of Corrections, 2015). Research highlights how the conduct of prison staff is fundamental to the delivery of

the Department of Corrections programmes, with relationships between officers and prisoners and the use of authority determining how well any institution operates (Crewe, 2011; Dowden and Andrews, 2004; Liebling, 2011; Liebling & Arnold, 2004; Vuolo & Kruttschnitt, 2008). Direct correlations between positive relationships and rehabilitative success have underpinned the components of the Risk, Needs, Responsivity model, adopted by the Department of Corrections and mentioned in Chapter One (Andrews & Bonta, 2017; Department of Corrections, 2019; Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Current government policy, previously discussed in Chapter Two, highlights the significance of relationship building within the public services between staff and the individuals they are involved with, as does the Women's Strategy 2017-2021, which recognises that the "work frontline staff do every day is essential in turning people's lives around" (Department of Corrections, 2017c, p.17). However, the reality is that most mothers in this research found officer-prisoner relationships tense. Those in positions of authority held conflicting roles as both advocate for the prisoner and as representative of the institution (Craig, 2009; Goffman, 1961; Liebling & Arnold, 2004; Silverman, 2005). The challenging nature of this dual role requires officers to conduct traditional tasks of monitoring and disciplining prisoners to ensure safety and security, while simultaneously providing respectful, meaningful and supportive relationships to mothers (Hannah-Moffat, 1995, Liebling & Arnold, 2004). This complex dynamic was not fully captured in the Literature Review, as many international prison nurseries have independent providers involved in the daily care of the mothers and babies. At the time of this research, New Zealand MBUs were managed day to day by predominately female prison officers with social workers and outside programme providers available to conduct specific courses. Participants' stories illustrated how their relationships with officers were central to their experience of prison life. Mothers spoke of officers as sources of support and guidance, while at the same time related incidents of dominance and control. Mothers in the MBU often experienced difficulty managing what appeared to be conflicting responsibilities where officers switched between operating in a responsive and compassionate manner while managing control and authority (Crewe, 2011).

Unique Opportunity for Officer-Prisoner Relationships

Chapter Three discussed Goffman's concept of dramaturgy. Here, life is portrayed as a performance in which we all perform roles that influence—and are influenced by—the roles that other people perform (Goffman, 1969). Goffman's ideas are equally relevant to systems thinking pertinent to the context of the MBU, where prisoners' daily interactions and connections with others influence their experience. "Moral performance" or the interplay of actors performing on the stage of life determined the atmosphere and influenced how mothers felt about themselves and their mothering within the prison (Liebling, 2011, p.534). Although much of the historical literature is concerned with adverse aspects of power and control experienced between incarcerated individuals and staff (Crewe, 2011; Ward & Salmon, 2009), the MBU potentially offers something different. Relationships formed here provided an opportunity for staff to positively contribute to mothers' daily lives. Crewe (2011) highlighted how improved relationships between prison officers and prisoners has been a focus for policy makers in recent decades (Crewe, 2011). Crewe found that those with long-term criminal justice involvement described prison officers as less authoritarian and more approachable than in the past.

The MBU provided an opportunity for inmates and officers to connect in a way that was not found anywhere else in the prison, with children often encouraging softer engagement from the adults they interacted with. Participants shared stories of everyday moments that revealed officers and prisoners effortlessly relating. I saw officers holding babies and toddlers running up with arms stretched in recognition of certain staff. I reflected in my journal "towards the children, [the] officers were very cooperative as I observed them interacting, cuddling, playing with and feeding the children". I was part of conversations where officers sat on the couch beside mothers chatting in a relaxed and informal way. I observed officers holding the towel for children as they exited the pool after swimming. These small gestures and encouraging interactions showed warmth and I therefore sensed children growing comfortable in the unit and towards the staff. Mothers also sensed the forming of positive relationships; for example, Kate expressed concern that on release her child might ask where all the "blue people" had gone. Similarly, another mother returned

to prison on her child's birthday to visit some of the staff that she referred to as the "nanas". On occasion, momentous events such as births were shared between officers and mothers, connecting them in real and emotional ways. For example, an officer cut the umbilical cord at the birth of Kate's baby due to family not being present. Kate's family named and thanked her in the birth notice and Kate gave the officer a clay hand print she made of her baby as a gift when she was released, commenting that the officer "went all teary eyed". Almost all mothers could name one officer or staff member who had a positive impact on them while in the MBU. Consequently, Levani said that when she experienced difficult parenting times, she found understanding and connection with staff from her own ethnic group who approached her in a particular way that she could identify with.

> For me it is more the Island [those who identify as Pasifika] staff who would always notice the little things. Like if I am in my room quite often or if I am not going outside [staff] would always come down and ask "what's up, what's wrong" and would sit and talk and would always get you that positive feedback. So for me the Island staffs they have been really good, they have been really supportive. Just in talking, just in sitting down and talking, little things like that. (Levani)

This involvement between officers, inmates and children in the MBU played a powerful role in breaking down stereotypes and served to facilitate bonds. The MBU provided opportunities for such displays of humanity, with the presence of children encouraging connections and meaningful relationships. Often mothers' stories recognised these times of shared moments of understanding, where mutual respect appeared to have been achieved. However, from my experience this was not always the case. The following section goes on to reflect some of the more difficult aspects of having an officer monitoring a nursery of inmate mothers. What became particularly evident was the extent of officer influence and degree to which mothers felt their parenting was monitored.

Officer Presence within the Prison Nursery

In contrast to the more humane relationships that the presence of children encouraged between officers and inmates, some officers appeared to conduct themselves with the same emphasis on authority as they might in any other prison wing. Scholars recognise that correctional staff are trained into an "occupational culture" that determines the way they relate towards prisoners (Arnold, 2008; Crawley & Crawley 2008; Crewe, 2011; Vuolo & Kruttschnitt, 2008). Arditti (2003), for example, observed in her study of parents and children visiting family in prison that correctional officers could be perceived by visiting family as intimidating. Silverman (2005) notes that these judgements could be made through both what was and was not verbally expressed. Although I observed many staff with a caring and sensitive approach, Levani highlighted this tension in the following excerpt:

> They should come in here without uniforms because when they do their approach with us is the same they have towards the child. And certain staff members talk to us the same as they talk to the child. Yep ok you have corrections staff here for us, but when it comes to the children, it is that attitude you know. (Levani)

Officer-prisoner relationships in the MBU could at times be tense, and communication and patterns of interaction between officers and mothers were easily fraught, especially when comments were directed towards participants' parenting. At these times, mothers referred to being "spoken down to" or being made to feel "stupid" or "like a kid". On occasion, both officers and inmates were observed to speak harshly, with responses typically in the same manner. I felt that the antagonistic nature of these relationship around the children was at times uncomfortable. On several occasions, mothers referred to incidents in which they felt officers were provocatively "pushing the buttons", in particular, when critiquing their parenting.

One aspect of the MBU which particularly stood out was when at the time of this research, officers addressed mothers by their last names.[33] I wrote extensive journal notes about this feeling like a distancing practice that did not feel in keeping with an environment that included children. Although this is understood as standard practice in mainstream prison, for me it appeared to detract from one of the aims of the MBU of providing a nurturing space. The Right Track framework now employed by the Department expects front line staff to interact with offenders in a "positive, involved and purposeful manner" (Department of Corrections, 2018a, p.238).[34] Department of Corrections practice procedures therefore encourages demonstrations of respect from officers—perhaps somewhat at odds with traditional expectations of a prison regime being focused on punishment, containment and control. Addressing mothers by first names could be a way to convey respect from prison staff towards inmates, arguably encouraged by current prison policy. Furthermore, using first names may be an important concept to role model within a prison unit that houses vulnerable children.

Officer as a Parenting Support

Chapter Three illustrates how the socially constructed notion of a "good mother" is one who invests time and attention in knowing her children and is in a position best able to provide for them (Lois, 2009**).** Western dominant ideology suggests the ability to mother successfully requires a certain level of autonomy (Luther & Gregson, 2011). However, difficulty was experienced within the MBU when officer surveillance and control extended beyond prisoners' behaviour to monitoring and instructing their mothering. Participants did not believe that educating mothers was as an officer's direct task— it was the mandatory parenting programmes that served to offer parenting guidance to enhance and sustain effective parenting practice. However, as officers were closely involved in the daily activities of the MBU,

[33] In communication from the Department of Corrections I understand that at the time of writing there is no specific policy that details how prisoners are to be addressed by staff (K. Gillies, personal communication, October 3rd, 2019).

[34] Right Track is a prison-based framework providing support and structure to empower "front line staff to develop their practice, work more closely together and build on a culture of trust, collaboration and continuous improvement" (Department of Corrections, 2018a, p. 227).

providing advice to mothers appeared to be an unavoidable by-product of this arrangement. At the time of this research, MBU staff received additional "mother with baby" training and attended some courses specific in recognising signs of child abuse (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013). Some participants struggled with officers directing them in motherhood through what they saw as unqualified advice. One participant, Nancy, stated they needed somebody who had "some kind of paper that says you can know these things." At one point, an officer did attempt to take on a direct supporting role with a mother in the MBU. Kate, a mother in the same unit, highlights in the following account how this dynamic was particularly unsuccessful:

> She was a real middle finger to authority kind of person. Why would you ask a Department of Corrections officer to mentor someone who was like that? She sees her as an authority figure; she is not going to let her mentor her. It was just a joke. Seriously, mentoring would be great but not by a Department of Corrections officer. Not for someone who is in prison, use your heads. Where is the sense in that? There is none. (Kate)

Tension was experienced when suggestions made by officers were felt by mothers to be critical, particularly when participants felt that as the child's mother it was they who were the authority over their child. Conflicting opinions between officers' advice and what mothers believed over what was best for their child were common. Carrie, who was a first-time mother, reflects her confusion and frustration in the following passage:

> What happened was every time an officer walked into the house they would be like "try it this way, do this thing, do that." Every officer had their own way of parenting and they would always fuckin push it onto me you know like "you need to be doing this, she needs to be eating this." And who the fuck was to say that their way was right you know what I mean? I know what my daughter needs, like a mother knows best for their daughter. And half of them had no kids anyway. (Carrie)

Consequently, mothers explained how this observation and involvement of officers limited their ability to parent autonomously and influenced their perception of how they viewed themselves in their mothering role. One of the ways mothers said they felt most vulnerable was when they were referred to as "bad" mothers. Emma shared an example of how easily even unintentional remarks from officers inevitably made them question their mothering ability.

> One day I wanted to take photos of my child and I was changing her into different outfits. One of the officers made the comment, "oh gosh, look at your mummy, isn't she a bad mummy pulling you round and changing you." And you know that just made me feel like I am a bad mum. Why would you say that, you know? And they never ever say, "oh you are doing a good job," but will come out and say, "oh isn't your mum nasty," and stuff like that. (Emma)

Participants appeared to want positive support from officers most when it related to parenting. Mothers highlighted how they felt it was important for officers to make themselves available as a source of encouragement and less as an authority to critique their parenting. Some of the mothers resented officers' intrusion and therefore would not actively seek support from them. Significantly, Emma makes it clear in the following account that if staff did not approach her or ask her about herself, she would not volunteer that information and would just manage on her own:

> It would be nice if someone actually came in everyday and said, "how are you, how has your day been, did you have a good night?" Just talk to you about yourself and your baby and have an interest. You know, like someone actually cares. I mean it takes that someone to come in and ask you the question "is everything ok?" Otherwise, I just get on with it. I am not the kind of person to go searching someone out to talk to. (Emma)

Some participants within the MBU reported strained relationships with officers resulting in routine tensions. Liebling and Arnold (2004) note such tense environments are common in low trust prison settings where people are typically suspicious of others. Participants' stories suggested that a positive rapport between mothers and officers, who are at the front line in managing the MBU, was critical for the unit to function well. Stories previously highlighted how the influence of children within this environment did change some aspects of being in prison and provided the opportunity for some positive relationships. However, having officers so intimately involved in daily parenting was difficult and sometimes created a challenging space within which to mother. As Shlonsky and colleagues (2016) state a successful programme involving the children "will find a way to integrate the intervention with normal prison rules and expectations and will also train staff to help them develop the skills required to maintain a setting that is supportive of parenting" (p.47). European Union bodies in particular have made efforts to prioritise child welfare. By placing specialist child development staff in a prison nursery, the proposed aim is to create an environment "free from the visible trappings of incarceration, such as uniforms and jangling keys" (European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT), 2000, p.15). Prisoners benefit from officers who care for them, rather than being viewed as within their care where their duties are primarily about "service and regime delivery" (Arnold, 2008, p.414).

Specialist Training for MBU Officers

In drawing attention to the daily reality faced by prison staff, Crawley and Crawley (2008) highlight how officers who carry out additional specialist roles must "challenge long-established entrenched occupational norms" (p.149). My research illustrates the need for an increased awareness from officers and staff of the needs of mothers who experience a mix of emotions while being a parent in prison. For example, mothers spoke of feeling despair, helplessness, and a lack of control over the lives of their children outside as they were not involved in their daily care. They also communicated immense guilt over separating siblings when family visits ended and the mothers returned to the MBU. Codd (2008) referred to this experience of

sadness as re-emphasising the "agonies of separation" (p.127). Emma shared her understanding of how her despondence and slowed responsiveness during her body search by officers after her family had visited, led to her being called up for a urine test to screen for drugs. Emma distinctly recalled how at this time she was upset and quiet after having taken her child away from a family visit to return to the unit:

> I can understand because I was very upset that day because her father was there and her brother was holding her and it just made me cry because his little sister couldn't come home. This is how he had to see her every week you know and it was so unfair. Staff were trying to imply that I had taken drugs because I was quiet and slow during my strip search and didn't really feel like talking to them. This is why she thought that I was on drugs. Why did she not ask me if I was ok? If she thought something was wrong why wouldn't she say, "are you ok" and question me? (Emma)

System of Social Control

In addition to the visible role officers appeared to play in the life of mothers within the MBU, the system within which women were required to parent also presented challenges. Research indicates that mothers experience less role strain if they perceive that they are active in their performance of the role of motherhood as opposed to simply being a mother by virtue of giving birth (Berry & Eigenberg, 2003; Enos, 2001; Luther & Gregson, 2011). Luther & Gregson (2011) and O'Reilly (2004) assert that mothers need agency and autonomy to become empowered and feel a sense of fulfilment in motherhood. In providing a place for "doing mothering", the MBU should promote a positive environment contributing to a mother's sense of self-worth and positive self-conceptions (Berry & Eigenberg, 2003; Luther & Gregson, 2011). For example, the layout of the MBU with larger spaces resembling homes located in a separate part of the prison offered a degree of freedom where a mother could focus on her child. Participants referred to the MBU as a "hotel", or "resort" or

more commonly, a "holiday camp".[35] However, these privileged conditions did not ultimately guarantee more autonomy to parent or less surveillance since the requirements of prison regulation were still evident. Participants highlighted certain features that diminished their ability to be a mother, illustrating how enforced measures of security in the MBU were no different to the rest of the prison. Despite the presence of children, mothers were still subjected to regular pat downs, room searches, lock downs and curfews by uniformed officers. As noted in research from other custodial mother and baby units, structural regulations placed restrictions on the way in which the women could be parents while incarcerated (Jensen & DuDeck-Biondo, 2005; Luther & Gregson, 2011).

The following section will highlight the ambiguous nature of this setting, illustrating how parenting within this unique custodial system enabled women the opportunity to be a mother while at the same time constrained aspects of motherhood. Referred here as monitored mothering, participants' stories indicated how this contradictory MBU space was at times challenging.

Blending Two Cultures: Prison and Nursery

Haney (2013) draws attention to a blend of two cultures—that of the prison, and that of the nursery—where "the institutional realities of punishment meet the imperatives of care work" (pg. 107). It is in prison where the philosophies of the penal tradition shape the experience of motherhood (Craig, 2009; Haney, 2013). The regulatory environment limited a mother's choice in prison, and arguably undermined parental authority. Limitations on behaviour and choices such as when to sleep, when to wake, and what can and cannot be eaten, made it difficult for a mother to be an authority figure in front of her child (Clarke, 1995; Haney, 2013; Luther & Gregson, 2011). Not surprisingly, prison procedures and regulations ultimately determined conduct (Herzog-Evans, 2013). Limits placed on choice and diminished parental autonomy became absorbed into the structured nature of daily life in the prison setting (Bosworth, 2016; Fedock, 2017). Mothers taking on the

[35] This is addressed further in Chapter Seven where issues around transitioning from prison to the community are discussed.

often-contradictory status of both parent and inmate cause identity and role confusion and increased strain (Berry & Eigenberg, 2003; Eloff & Moen, 2003; Enos, 2001; Goffman, 1969). Prisoners talked about how the identity of "prisoner" prevailed and overrode all others, even that of parent and mother as has been found in other research in prison nurseries (Haney, 2013). Participants experienced a persistent struggle to navigate the exercise of parental autonomy while incarcerated which dovetails with similar findings from Feintuch (2013) and Luther and Gregson (2011), both highlighted in Chapter Two.

As Nancy illustrates below, although the prison made efforts to communicate that children were not prisoners, their lives were inevitably restricted and determined by the correctional system. Under these circumstances, children may be understood as 'de facto state wards' who are not 'part of the system' but, by virtue of their status and circumstances, were inevitably captured by some of the same regulations as their mothers, and their behaviour determined by the institutional restrictions. Participants' stories illustrated their constant negotiations to establish where their parental authority stopped and institutional regulations began, with elements of mother's decision-making absorbed by the correctional facility. Due to living in the prison environment there were naturally limitations on the ways that parenting could be done. Mothers could parent and interact with their children in appropriate and socially acceptable ways, however this was naturally required to fit within the regulations of the prison (Eloff & Moen, 2003; Herzog-Evans, 2013). This tension between custodial requirements and mothering responsibilities is highlighted below in Nancy's excerpt. The vehemence in this dialogue expresses Nancy's clear resentment towards the contradiction she felt of how she understood all the prison originally communicated her role as a mother and how she was actually able to mother while in the MBU:

> These children, they are prisoners. I don't care what they say, the children here are prisoners. And unit managers are making decisions, like they are the fuckin' mothers. The original saying was "you are the mother, you make the decisions." Bullshit. Absolute fuckin' crap. (Nancy)

Restricting movements and determining eating and sleeping arrangements is inevitably a feature of the correctional system. Furthermore, physical restrictions of the prison environment meant that ultimately mother's activities with their children around the prison were limited. Mothers often spoke about how there was no place to let the children run, or to take a suitable walk with them. In ARWCF, babies had to be strapped into their buggies at all times when moving around the prison. A mother's choice around sleeping with her child was not allowed for reasons of safety (Department of Corrections, 2017b, p.10) due to concerns over Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) (McIntosh, Tonkin & Gunn, 2009; Ministry of Health, 2019; Plunket, 2019; Tipene-Leach, Hutchison, Tangiora, Rea, White, Stewart & Mitchell, 2010). This requirement could pose difficulties for mothers who do not subscribe to Western cultural ideas of separation, independence and individuation, believing bed-sharing to facilitate interconnectedness with family and acknowledgment of one's connection (Abel, Park, Tipene-Leach, Finau & Lennan, 2001). Traditional Māori approaches to co-sleeping, bed-sharing, and parent responsivity towards their child were associated with positive outcomes for children, encouraging them to be confident, brave and independent (Horiana et al., 2017; Jenkins et al., 2011). Kahurangi, who was Māori, admitted sleeping with her child on occasion within the unit, and although she referred to this as "naughty" and knew she was breaking the rules, she felt the need to be close to her child. In acknowledging a cultural preference for co-sleeping Dr David Tipene-Leach developed the wahakura to facilitate a safe sleeping practice for parents (McIntosh et al., 2009; Tipene-Leach & Abel, 2010).[36] The use of a wahakura within the MBU may be a way to facilitate the cultural significance of a mother remaining close to her baby while sleeping, in a safe and appropriate way (see Appendix 14 for an image of a wahakura). Mothers further argued against being restricted in what food they could choose to buy for their child. As prison policy states "a prisoner is responsible for the preparation of meals for herself and her child whilst in the self-care unit" (Department of Corrections, 2018b, M.03.02.09). Emma highlighted this tension experienced when food she had selected for her child was removed by staff from the shopping list:

[36] Wahakura: A woven bassinet built around traditional Māori infant sleeping practice to reduce the risks associated with co-sleeping.

> Just recently I had meat crossed off my baby's shop. I wanted to get lamb, fish and beef I think it was and the whole lot was crossed off my list. I was not allowed to buy meat for her and she was coming up to 7 months where she needs that meat. I had an argument with one of the officers and they said you can't have this and you can't have that. Who do you think you are? Basically implying that I was going to be eating this meat and fish myself. (Emma)

Punctuality appeared important for mothers, as they felt keeping time commitments suggested they were a good parent. As most outside arrangements were made for them, mothers had little power in making sure they kept to time. Women complained on several occasions about being late and were sensitive about situations they had no control over reflecting badly on them as parents. Kahurangi showed her frustration when we were travelling in the van and late for swimming, commenting that "this always happens and we are always late". Nancy remarked on her embarrassment when questioned by her preschool about a late fee payment that according to her the prison was supposed to have paid. Mothers spoke about how they felt embarrassed and helpless as a mother in these situations. Nancy's excerpt below illustrates the intensity of her frustration over a situation that for her symbolised this legitimate struggle she felt over her inability to be seen as the mother she wants to be:

> I am the one that always looks like a cunt, cause screws[37] don't go into her day-care and I am the one that's always late to pick her up. I am the one that looks like I am just assuming she can get dropped off 40 minutes early cause Corrections run the world. I am the one that always looks like an arsehole. (Nancy)

Gathering and documenting early family journeys was found to be a symbolic representation of being a mother, with photos described as "extraordinarily important, emotionally resonant objects" (Rose, 2004, p.549). Further organising of

[37] Internal slang for corrections officers.

photos, such as labelling, dating and storing images, determined the marker of a good mother (Rose, 2004). Although mothers participating Rose's UK-based research were not in prison, this emphasis on the value of documenting their child's journey appeared no different for participants of this research. Mothers indicated that while capturing first moments by taking photos was an important parenting task, they had little control over it in prison. According to participants, the officer on duty determined access to the camera. Emma demonstrated this urgency to tangibly document her child's early journey in her account in the section above (p.122), where she referred to a staff member commenting on changing her baby's clothes multiple times for a photo shoot because she had limited use of the camera at that one time. Kate similarly expressed frustration, with being unable to take spontaneous photos of her child asleep on the floor, due to restrictions on the camera: "that moment's gone, take a mental picture you don't get a real one." Nancy was concerned about how her child would feel not having baby photo albums to look through as she herself enjoyed doing. In Nancy's excerpt below, she compared herself to her own mother, recognising her inability to complete this important task and the implications this had for the future:

> She is going to go through her baby photos when she is older and there is like none. I still worry that she is going to think she was adopted, cause there are no photos of her in the hospital and no photos of her with me until she is four days old. I am still worried that she is never going to believe me. And then there are no photos till she is five weeks and then five months. It is just things like that, cause I love looking at my baby photos. But mum went crazy; she missed nothing, whereas I missed everything with her. So many things that I wish I had photos of, so that I could show her and I just don't. (Nancy)

Throughout this section, participants shared how their experiences and perceptions of themselves as mothers were impacted when not able to perform certain tasks they considered important to mothering. Taking photos and documenting a child's early journey became particularly significant, while other areas such as sleeping

arrangements and food choices caused frustration but regarded as the daily reality of being in prison. The context of parenting within the MBU as part of a correctional institution inevitably imposed limits on parental autonomy. What is significant as a result of these findings is identifying the frequent tension and struggle for parental autonomy that was part of the daily reality of mothering in a nursery within a prison. The difficulties associated with blending these two cultures, as referred to by Haney (2013) was certainly evident in the stories of the mothers.

Teaching "Good" Mothering

Mothers were required to attend parenting programmes provided by an outside agency while in the MBU. Although there are many benefits associated with these programmes, there is also research that casts doubt on parenting programmes directly influencing parenting behaviour on release from prison as well as questioning whether such programmes alone can create change in parenting practices that positively affect child development outcomes (Goshin & Byrne, 2009; Loper & Tuerk, 2006). As highlighted in the literature review, programmes designed for mothers with babies should take into account the diversity of mothering practice (Feintuch, 2013; Haney, 2013; Freitas et al., 2016). De Haan and Connolly (2019) recognised in their research that, in adjusting to parenthood, parents require pragmatic and emotional support covering a variety of issues (p.729). Luther and Gregson (2011) highlight the mismatch between prison mothering options and what mothers are accustomed to on the outside. A cultural focus is essential in considering how different cultures may parent differently, however there is a lack of literature addressing how these values may be incorporated to support the diverse populations included within any prison nursery (Byrne et al., 2014; Carlson, 2009; Sleed et al., 2013; Staley, 2002; Whiteacre et al., 2013). In a parenting programme for young Māori mothers, delivered in a community setting of South Auckland, Penehira and Doherty (2013) found that understanding the spiritual and physical dimensions of Kaupapa Māori with a focus on past, present, future, family and geographical place, had an effect on the relationship and development of the child,

wider whānau and their community of care.[38] Penehira & Doherty's (2013) study acknowledges the cultural and social differences in motherhood that impact upon the delivery of effective interventions, and therefore, the lives of these young mothers and their children. Although Penehira & Doherty's research was carried out in the community, it recognised the importance of education within the prison nursery being reflective of the social and cultural diversity of the mothers and their style of parenting (Penehira and Doherty, 2013; see also Freitas et al., 2016).

Although there were mixed opinions amongst participants, parenting programmes within the MBU were generally not favoured by mothers at the time of this research, with a lack of engagement being evident in both Auckland and Christchurch prison sites. This finding contrasts with the positive feedback Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford (2013) found in their research. This discrepancy may be a result of the more in-depth style of the study undertaken in this thesis where participants indicated they were given more scope to be open, direct and honest in their views (discussed in Chapter Four). When referring to these parenting programmes, mothers commented "I am already a mother, I already know" or "it is more a bitching session rather than a real parenting course". One mother commented that all they did was "colour in or watch a DVD, it just does not work". While nine out of the 12 mothers who participated in this research already had children, they spoke about feeling frustrated with being instructed on how to be a good parent to their child in the MBU. According to mothers, the disorganised nature of some parenting programmes contributed to this lack of engagement. While contracts for parenting programmes were being negotiated, mothers in ARWCF spent considerable time with no parenting course. Additionally, as Kate highlights in the following account, mothers in CWP commented that the parenting programmes were irregular:

> She [programme facilitator] came out but she was sort of a bit airy fairy and sometimes she only stayed for about ten minutes cause there were so many of us and she didn't have time and all these excuses and sometimes she just would not come. (Kate)

[38] Kaupapa Māori: Ideology or philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.

Although mothers' accounts highlight their frustration with the content and structure of the parenting programmes, it is worth noting that participants unanimously struggled with issues around how to be a mother to their other children when in prison. Many faced difficulties not only parenting the child with them in MBU, but additional challenges with children still in the community, unsure of how to keep sibling relationships alive and healthy.

When mothers did feel a bond and developed a meaningful connection with a facilitator, they spoke of this enthusiastically. This was particularly highlighted by mothers who took part in the Kowhiritanga programme. These mothers were overwhelmingly positive about this prison-wide intervention. It must be understood that Kowhiritanga was not a parenting programme as such and did not have the same objectives as other parenting courses. Kowhiritanga aimed to reduce reoffending by targeting change through cognitive-behavioural and relapse-prevention therapy delivered by a psychologist and a facilitator (Department of Corrections, 2017f). Additionally, and significantly, this was a culturally responsive, group-based rehabilitative programme designed to meet the needs of women (Department of Corrections, 2017c). Kowhiritanga is an example of a programme that all participants viewed favourably. Through their stories, mothers consistently spoke enthusiastically about Kowhiritanga and highlighted the value they felt this programme placed on developing connections to others and to themselves and emphasising the importance of relationships. Kate provides an example of this below:

> Kowhiritanga did amazing things. It was absolutely amazing what sitting in a group with a whole heap of girls can do. Like you are not sitting there with a councillor like someone who is "oh yeah," you are sitting with a whole group of girls who have lived your life, done what you have done, and you are talking about it together and they are putting suggestions to you of different ways you could have done it or how it effects the people around you. And it works. (Kate)

Like Kate, most mothers were drawn towards the development of meaningful relationships based on the group approach of Kowhiritanga, in particular the way the group created support through mutual feedback. Kowhiritanga deliberately used dynamics of group therapy to deliver a programme that provided engaging, therapeutic experiences for participants (Department of Corrections, 2017f).

Research literature on offender treatment supports the idea that "group cohesiveness is essential to achieving treatment gains" (Marshall & Burton, 2010, p.143). This echoes features found in the therapeutic community model of programme delivery previously described in Chapter One, which emphasises a collaborative group-based approach to relationships between members of the community (Gowing et al., 2002). Penehira & Doherty (2013) also found that the sharing of struggles created a group environment more conducive to change. These researchers found Māori mothers recognised whānau and whānaungatanga could be extended beyond familial connections to other groups for support. Mothers in the MBU spoke about how this sense of belonging facilitated by recognition of similar problems shared within a trusted group environment was a powerful approach to programme provision. In addition to the group experience, the quality of the relationship between the client and the facilitator appears to have more of an impact than the engagement of any therapeutic technique (Marshall & Burton, 2010). Mothers who experienced Kowhiritanga commented on the facilitator's collaborative style diminishing the hierarchy between professional and client, thereby having a favourable impact on programme delivery. Significantly, Penehira and Doherty (2013) found Māori mothers' relationships with whaea important,[39] as the whaea who facilitated the group were viewed as knowledgeable in what the mothers were experiencing. They found "the validity gained with Māori women, Māori mothers teaching Māori mothers, seems [to be] a critical element underlying people's "buy-in" to the programme" (Penehira & Doherty, 2013, p.374).

[39] Whaea: A mother or an aunt. In this context, whaea refers to program facilitator.

Kowhiritanga's in-depth focus seemed to appeal to participants who found this course to focus on them as individuals. Many were enthusiastic about learning how their actions impacted their families and victims through an understanding of the ripple effect.[40] Aspects of Te Whare Tapa Wha incorporated a Māori view of balance and wellbeing (Department of Corrections, 2017f).[41] In the following transcript, Levani shared what her experience of Kowhiritanga meant to her and how this had an impact on her as a Pasifika woman. This transcript highlighted some of the benefits felt by the majority of mothers who completed this course:

> I really enjoyed Kowhiri and I honestly thank the Board for standing me down and seeing that I needed it. I thought to myself I don't need Kowhiritanga. I will be all good. I won't repeat what I have done. But the Board saw between the lines maybe, thinking you need Kowhiritanga, we will stand you down for it. And for me getting on and doing it, it was like wow. Kowhiri, it changed my whole thinking not only how we perceive ourselves but how other people see us. I thank the Kowhiritanga programme actually. Because for being a Pacific Islander, like if someone asks how you are feeling when it comes to your emotions you go "yeah no I am good, I am happy." But doing Kowhiritanga, it is more in-depth. Kowhiritanga looks at every part of you, not just one. So I can actually say I have changed as a person. Kowhiri talked about the ripple effect and understanding my crime as not only effecting my husband and the kids, but more than that. (Levani)

Despite the overwhelming positive comments from mothers, Naomi who had been previously incarcerated and completed Kowhiritanga, made a remark about this programme being hard to put into practice within her community outside. Naomi's example below emphasises the importance of programmes connecting with mothers

[40] The "ripple effect" is a sociological term used to observe how social interactions can effect situations not directly related to the initial interaction (Long, 2001, p. 65).

[41] Te whare tapa wha is a model developed by Mason Durie for understanding the four cornerstones of Māori health as physical, spiritual, family and mental wellbeing (Ministry of Health, 2017).

by having social and cultural relevance to their lives outside of prison. This again highlights the mismatch that may occur between prison programmes and what mothers are familiar with on the outside (Luther & Gregson, 2011). To address this discrepancy, principles of the previously introduced therapeutic community framework could provide a place within the MBU where mothers could involve themselves both within the prison community and with their community outside. The role of the TC could be to familiarise these two worlds to increase the likelihood that a mother's experiences in prison will generalise to their outside lives and be recognised by those that support them. Naomi who is Māori, illustrates in her account below the difficulty of any prison programme she was involved with to completely reflect in her life outside:

> Some of the skills they taught us were hard to put into practice. Yes it was easy to work with within the walls but when you come out here and try and practice it, it is hard because you are doing it on people who don't understand and have never been taught that sort of way. So it was quite difficult to try and challenge them on those sorts of things. It was pretty hard. (Naomi)

Privilege and Punishment

The fragile nature of the officer-inmate dynamic is exacerbated in a correctional institution that operates on a system of privileges and punishments (Moran, Pallot & Piacentini; 2013). Rewards await those inmates who conform and, according to Goffman (1961), shame and stigma awaits those who do not. Chapter Three highlights strategies identified by Foucault (1977, 1980) that combine threat and opportunity to enable individuals to direct their own behaviour. Within the prison nursery, when rules are violated, mothers are made accountable in ways that may impact on the children (Baradon et al., 2008; Shain et al., 2010). This could disempower mothers in the MBU more than the mainstream prison population, as they experience additional control through punishments directly involving their children.

Linking children's opportunities to prisoner misconduct was a mechanism of social control unique to the MBU. Contrary to social learning theory (Bandura, 1977),[42] these imposed consequences were at times arbitrary and unrelated to the offending behaviour. For example, according to Di, when she refused to hand over a tongue stud to officers, she was threatened with having her child's first birthday cancelled and her family refused entry to the MBU for the birthday party. The MBU as a place of privilege was consequently also a place where there were consequences for not meeting the regulatory requirements women were made aware of when they signed the previously mentioned parenting agreement. Self-regulatory behaviour to avoid potential discipline was indicated by Goffman (1961) as a feature of total institutions.

Most participants in this research remarked on how they felt anxious about having their child removed due to their own misconduct. At the time of my fieldwork, I was aware of five mothers out of a total of 12 who had their child removed for disciplinary reasons. Long-term outcomes as a result of this removal are beyond the parameters of this research. However, what is reported are the accounts from mothers at the time and the impact this had on the mother, child and extended family relationships at this critical time in a child's development. This research will discuss further some of these issues in more detail with relation to these removals in Chapter Six, where child centeredness is addressed. However, Naomi's reflection below was indicative of mothers' feeling that doing something wrong could result in the considerable consequence of having their child removed:

> You got to abide by those rules, if you slip out of those rules once they can just come and take your baby and that's it. So it was sort of, I don't want to mess up otherwise your kids going to go. And having that tension behind your child is quite a bit…It's hard to live with. Stressful, and you're already dealing with what you're dealing with while you are in here you know. It is quite a lot for one person. (Naomi)

[42] Social Learning Theory conceived by Albert Bandura suggests that people learn from one another through modelling, imitation and observation.

Naomi's account is significant as it further illustrates the added pressure of living in this highly exposed and publicly monitored environment. Naomi's account below echoes what Luther and Gregson (2011) highlight as key challenges for mothers trying to live up to the socially constructed ideals of a good mother. Naomi appears in the following account to experience some relief from the pressure she experienced when mothering within prison:

> I am glad I am no longer in the MBU. I think it was so much pressure on me that I just lost it. Cause we are there with the responsibility of our children. And that just comes naturally as a mum. But we are also there for the expectation and responsibility of the system as well. And trying to care for your child in the best way possible and having the system on your back all the time is stressful. So that was a hard bit. So in a way I am glad she is not with me anymore and I know that sounds selfish of me. But yeah, I am glad I'm not in the MBU cause I don't have the stress of the officers on my back. (Naomi)

Case notes used in the prison provided another means through which women's behaviour was examined and documented daily in an effort to maintain up-to-date information about inmates. The Department of Corrections note that central to managing prisoners and enabling quality conversations and appropriate responses to their needs was how well they "record, manage and share the knowledge we have about them" (Department of Corrections, 2018a, p.252). However, within the MBU, case notes extended beyond documenting participants' own behaviour to monitoring and noting a mother's involvement with their children. On one occasion during my fieldwork case notes were used as a method to control behaviour. One participant's lack of engagement with her child at playgroup was threatened to be added to her case notes and put on file for her next parole hearing. This type of surveillance and observation reflected elements discussed by Foucault (1977) in his comparison between traditional and modern mechanisms of social control. One of the most salient features of Foucault's modern power structure is the means by which individuals come to monitor their own and each other's lives. This contrasts

with traditional methods of power where individuals were dictated to and were the subjects of overt control (White, 2002). Therefore, *examination* through the threat of the use of case notes played a role in self-regulation and self-control. Discipline could be achieved through this approach without the need for physical or formal intervention (Crewe, 2011). Mothers were well aware that only through appropriate behaviour and attitudes could they be granted the opportunity to live with their children or even considered for parole. This use of case notes, as highlighted in the above example, may on occasion contradict the Department of Corrections policy that directed prisoner files to "contain relevant information about the offender and their management that reflects the professionalism of Corrections staff" (Department of Corrections, 2018a, p.243). The requirement to write case notes and document non-compliant behaviour while equally demonstrating compassion and concern towards mothers further highlights the contradictory nature of the officer-prisoner relationship. Crewe (2011) suggests officers operating within modern imprisonment may underestimate the "influence of biro power", and that prisoners experience this as a powerful and permanent feature that may determine their freedom (p.464). The use of case notes may be an example of how the prison impacts the "physical as well as the psychological space of the prisoner" (Crewe, 2011, p.461). Nowadays, although prison may be experienced as less brutal and less physical, the impact of "soft power" can be equally as intense (Crewe, 2011).

Mothering Alone

Intensive mothering was previously highlighted as a term first coined by Hays (1996) that refers to the culturally informed notion of a good mother as one who invests vast amounts of time, money, energy and emotional labour into their role of motherhood (Elliott, Powell & Brenton, 2015; Reich, 2014). The social construction of motherhood illustrated in Chapter Three encouraged managing and coping alone without asking for help, making this a lonely and isolating experience (Feintuch, 2013). Elliott and colleagues (2015) argue that low-income mothers endeavour to perform this notion of intensive mothering despite a lack of social support and at significant expense to them, both emotionally and physically.

Without the significant involvement of fathers or family/whānau, the environment of the MBU may have served to inadvertently foster gendered notions by reinforcing the idea of the female parent as the sole provider independently catering to their child's needs. Although staff and other mothers in the unit were able to help care for children for short periods, mothers were the primary caregivers and expected to be responsible for their child at all times when in the unit (Department of Corrections, 2017b, p.10). This meant motherhood for some was experienced as demanding and lonely. Mothers commonly spoke about having no one to pass their child to when upset, teething or just hard to settle. Experiences that could have been shared with partners or family when new babies arrived were dealt with alone. Kate felt frustrated at having to parent on her own, stating, "I am not a solo mother and I shouldn't have to be doing this, I do have a partner, [my son] does have a father." Emma shared how she felt exasperated when unable to hand her baby over and move to a space where she was not able to hear the child cry to create some temporary relief. Some mothers had family members regularly involved in the care of their children on the outside and were not used to parenting alone. Carrie was a mother who was used to having her child cared for by her mother every second weekend when she was in the community. Although this extended care might have been an option for mothers to continue when in the MBU, the distance between prison and Carrie's home meant this could not happen. These experiences resonate with the findings of De Haan and Connolly (2019) who argue that supportive relationships are valued by mothers caring for a child on their own for the first time. Further difficulty arose when mothers reported admitting to needing support would be interpreted as a sign of incompetence and a failure to cope in motherhood. Some mothers did not want to ask officers for help, as they did not want to appear incapable. Kate referred to officers as "them" and highlights how she felt it was not an option to ask "them" for help:

> Having to raise a baby in jail on your own is not easy. He cried for two hours straight and you are stuck in a house and you can't go anywhere. I couldn't do anything. And I wasn't going to ring "them"

> and say I need help with my baby, so it was like oh my god I am going to go insane. (Kate)

Mothers' comments highlighted the potential risk of the MBU overlooking the significant role of the father or family/whānau and inadvertently overemphasising the role of the mother. Participants' stories demonstrated the demands and stress they felt in parenting alone. This isolated and challenging time contrasts with what many cultures experience, where communities of support contribute to the upbringing of the child (Hays, 1996). Shared care arrangements are embraced within traditional Māori ideals of motherhood as previously written about in Chapter Three. Traditional principles of whānau and whānaungatanga were written about as foundational to being Māori (Penehira & Doherty, 2013). Levani, a Pasifika woman highlighted one example of extended mothering in the MBU. Levani was one of the older mothers in the unit, with the experience of having a number of children on the outside, including whāngai adopted family. Instances did arise where children were left with other inmates or staff. Levani was someone who frequently appeared to have additional children in her care and naturally extended her mothering experience to others in the unit. This style of informal childcare within the prison and a day-care option outside of CWP was used specifically when mothers needed to attend a course or to go somewhere without the child. At times, some mothers did send their children out to family members in the community for the purposes of "increasing bonding with alternative caregivers and other family and siblings" (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013, p.16). Despite recognition that mothers needed time out and encouragement (Department of Corrections, 2017b, p.11), the purpose of this alternative care had to be in the best interests of the child and not for the sole purpose of providing a break for the mother (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013).

Alternatively, mothers in Spain's external mother units were provided with the opportunity to send children to day-care to share the parenting responsibility and provide needed time out for the mother (Feintuch, 2013). Bowlby (2012) stated, "If the job is to be well done and the child's principal caregiver is not to be too exhausted, the caregiver herself (or himself) needs a great deal of assistance" (p.2).

A therapeutic community framework discussed in Chapter One may once again be a way to address the isolated and demanding experiences mothers shared in their role as sole parent within the MBU. Encouraging shared care and communal collaborative practice might encourage mothers to parent in a supportive group environment. As the benefits of using this community dynamic have been addressed above, mothers sharing experiences and contributing to the wellbeing of the group may provide a way to address the experience of isolation mothers said they felt parenting within the incarcerated setting. More emphasis could be made on involving fathers and family/whānau in this community model, with more whānau days and organised family events. Establishing family support while in prison may provide the opportunity for these connections to continue and to promote whanaungatanga between the mother and child and their family/whanau, with a view to enhancing these relations on release.

The mothers' role within the MBU was primarily as primary caregivers for their children (Department of Corrections, 2017b). Although the prison tried to help balance parenting responsibilities and programme obligations, this was not always the case. Hine, who had breached parole and returned to prison, reflected on the contrast between times spent in the MBU to that of the main wing without her child. Hine felt that when on her own she could get a job inside and further herself with involvement in courses and education, which she was unable to do when she had the care of her child. These conflicting pressures reflect similar obligations mothers often experience in the community in terms of managing employment, education and parental demands. Hine commented "I did concentrate on myself, got up on my own two feet not having [child] beside me dragging me down." In contrast, Lexi gave up a computer course to provide for her child, understanding that being a mother was her primary responsibility:

> I was doing computers but then they said babies are not allowed up in the computer room anymore so she either had to go to day-care or be left with another prisoner so I pulled out of computers. I did not want her to go to day-care or be left with another prisoner. It wasn't important. I did not need to do computers. (Lexi)

Similar frustrations were expressed by mothers in the research conducted by Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford (2013) who were unable to take their children to certain programme which limited their course involvement. In this way—and likely inadvertently—the structure of the MBU may further entrench gendered expectations of motherhood. Without specific and encouraged involvement of wider family/whānau, and more specifically, the role of the father or partner, the full responsibility of childcare is placed upon the mother. This substantial role was at times at the expense of a mother furthering herself with practical skills or qualifications that might benefit her when reintegrating. Such an emphasis on being sole provider for the child when in prison may have implications for the future of both mother and child when attention is not paid to assisting the mother to develop necessary knowledge and resources needed to successfully manage their post-release life.

This gendered expectation of mothers appeared to be a significant aspect of participants stories, specifically that they would simultaneously manage reintegration, rebuild their lives, support their children and continue to parent. Recent changes to government policy have endeavoured to place value on the legitimate role of motherhood, recognising the important role of the family in raising the next generation. Increased financial assistance, extended parental leave and encouragement for parents was offered in the recently introduced Families Package in 2018 to acknowledge and support the important role of the family (The Treasury, 2018). However, within the confined environment of the prison, mothers are at risk of disconnecting from their lives outside. If mothers are not supported in gaining skills that will benefit them on release, they are at risk of being even more under-prepared and under-resourced when reintegrating than mainstream prisoners.

Close Confinements: Comparison and Competition

Although mothers spoke about a sisterhood that provided some with support from other mothers (discussed further in Chapter Seven), living in close confinements also stimulated competition. Haney (2013) suggests that the MBU space "idealised the mothering of some women while thoroughly devaluing the parenting of others"

(p.107). Mothers compared themselves to the notion of a good mother as one who could provide for their child, in addition to themselves, money and material items (Ferraro & Moe, 2003; Reich, 2014). Amongst mothers in the MBU, judgments and comparisons between themselves were inevitable, with the competition to be that good mother a constant feature within this confined environment. In addition to this sense of competitive tension between mothers, Foucault's (1977) ideas around surveillance acting as a measure of control through examination and normalising judgments, meant mothers assessed others as parenting within the accepted norms. Conversations were common between women making judgments and critiques of the parenting styles and disciplining techniques of other mothers. Although the close living arrangements may have provided added monitoring and surveillance in terms of safety for the children, tensions often escalated and confrontations around the children were common. Kate's transcript below illustrates one example of how sharing opinions of others parenting could quickly escalate:

> When Hine lived with us, her daughter was lying in her bed screaming, crying, don't know what was wrong with her maybe dirty. She hadn't even been to check her. She just could not be bothered getting off her fat lazy arse to go and check the baby. She was just sitting there going "shut up, would you just fuck up, shut up, man do you ever shut up." I went in and picked the baby up. The little girl was beside herself. I said "cuddle your baby" and we ended up having a big fight about it. She was yelling and screaming "leave my baby in the fuckin bed," while I am holding onto her baby and the baby is still screaming. Hine and I had a big argument and I told the officers I am not living with that bitch, I am not having her in my house, near my child, I don't feel safe. I said I am not living with her, not one more day; she is seriously dangerous, not wired up right in the head person. (Kate)

Deliberate Resistance

Foucault (1977, 1980) wrote that in any system of power relations there will exist acts of resistance. Bosworth (2016) notes how women have a "remarkable ability to defy the universalising effects of punishment and imprisonment" (p.131). Women can be found to purposefully complicate power relations with acts of resistance to "assert their own values and beliefs without succumbing to all the ideological impositions of those in charge" (Feintuch, 2013, p.142). Understanding this resistance assumes prisoners have agency and to some extent "make choices to actively negotiate power relations" (Bosworth & Carrabine, 2001, p.512). The highlighted examples below illustrate ways mothers expressed their agency and resisted the system of power that ultimately exists within prison. These are subtle acts of resistance to authority that often went unnoticed; however, they appeared to enable mothers to cope with parenting within this environment. These stories recognised participants' act of resistance and the ways they negotiated their position while preserving some element of control.

Echoing Bosworth's (2016) findings, most women used low-level verbal exchanges to challenge an officer's authority. Nancy shared how she liked to resist authority and how she would do this in different ways. On one occasion, Nancy spoke of how women were not allowed to wear gang attire, so she would purposefully buy her child items of clothing in red as this was an associated gang colour. Kate maintained her influence over her pregnancy by resisting a natural birth that, according to her, was encouraged by the prison. Kate shares in the following account how she insisted on having a caesarean:

> I have had a caesarean before so I had elected to have a caesarean again. Then I come here and everything that I had planned went totally out the window. They still wanted me to have a natural birth and I said no. I can't have my family here, I can't have my partner here, I can't have my midwife here, I am not at home and that is all I have got left that I have got control over so that is what I am doing. (Kate)

Performing docile by abiding by rules and doing what was expected was an intentional behaviour Moran and colleagues (2013) observed in women prisoners. Goffman's (1969) dramaturgical ideas illustrated in Chapter Three also suggested "front stage masks" were used to conform and present the self as docile. For mothers in the MBU, choosing to abide by the rules and parent the way they were told suggested a deliberate act of resistance. Performing docile for participants a way to be seen to be doing the right thing in a strategic move to demonstrate their conformity. In this way, participants spoke about attending courses just to "tick the right boxes" or to "keep people happy". Mothers shared how these acts of resistance were done in an effort to maximise favourable conclusions in case notes, an early release, or simply because they knew it looked favourable. For example, Naomi stated "I have done programmes, all of them were to tick boxes or to keep people happy or whatever." Kate referred to her reasoning for participating in a course as "it was definitely to tick the box because I knew if I did it, I would get my board." However, the risk is that participation in rehabilitation efforts became superficial without the personal investment required for treatment success (Crewe, 2007; Ward & Birgden, 2007). Nancy admitted to continuing to complete courses without significant commitment or motivation when she left prison and was involved with other agencies. She commented that her only reason for doing these particular courses was to "shut CYFS up".[43] It is recognised that involvement from Oranga Tamariki indicates it was likely there were significant concerns regarding the welfare of Nancy's children.

Although Ferraro and Moe (2003) suggest it is difficult for women to resist the stigmatising realities of their position, resisting the opinions of others was often used by some mothers to cope within this environment of public parenting. Those who successfully challenged the dominant socially constructed ideology that implied criminals were "bad" mothers, spoke with assertion about their mothering ability. Tui viewed critique from others with a bit of humour, suggesting you "brush it off a

[43] Formally known as Child, Youth and Family (CYF), the Ministry of Children, Oranga Tamariki (MCOT) is a New Zealand government department responsible for the wellbeing of children, specifically children at risk of harm, children of the State and youth offenders.

bit, then it is alright." Lexi admitted the opinion of staff was one of the hardest things to manage; however, spoke with confidence about her ability as a mother:

> Yeah bringing the baby up in here and having staff's different opinions and points of views and judgements was hard. But I was expecting that. I was told about how staff would judge you and have their opinions and tell you what to do. So I stayed away from all that. I felt I am a pretty good parent so I didn't have any problems. I was a good mother anyway so it didn't really matter. (Lexi)

Some mothers used avoidance as a form of resistance with decisions involving their children inevitably based on which officer was on duty. At times this meant decisions were made at the expense of opportunities offered to their children, where mothers worked to avoid interactions with certain officers. Nancy commented: "I don't like a lot of the officers and I won't go on outings with them." However, in making judgments to avoid certain staff, this implied that positive relationships existed with other officers. Kate highlighted this in her account below:

> Because of the way the rosters were it was 10-12 weeks until they [officers] were back. And you would always have a good week when those officers were working. Because you knew they were there and if you needed anything you could go see them. You had to pick your times if you wanted something. Well I would see who was working that week, and if not I would wait till next week. (Kate)

Summary

Throughout this chapter participants' stories illustrated the ambiguities experienced as mothers spent time incarcerated with their children in this unique MBU space. These ambiguities were present despite the MBUs ostensible role as a meaningful place to nurture the mother-child relationship. One of the most noticeable ways this research reflected such ambiguities was in the relationship between officers and

mothers. On the one hand, the MBU provided the opportunity for officers and inmates to develop unique and supportive relationships involving their children that were different to mainstream prison. However, mothers' accounts in this chapter also demonstrated how the dual role of staff and the subsequent officer-prisoner relationship in the MBU was at times tricky to navigate.

Although there appears to be limited literature evaluating the dynamics of operating a nurturing child-centred MBU within prison, tensions existed in this dual space. This chapter aimed to illustrate how these worlds co-existed in New Zealand prisons through the stories from the mothers. The MBU appeared to be a place of contradictory goals: between the retributive nature of imprisonment and the rehabilitative goals of offender treatment. While the MBU encouraged autonomy and independent parenting, this was within a space where participants were subject to the regulatory requirements one would expect of the prison environment. Although mothers experienced times of increased freedom and control over their children, limits were placed on actual choices available to them and their capacity to make parental decisions. Mothers expressed how grateful they were to have the opportunity to remain with their child, but were simultaneously challenged in their parenting by the institutional requirements of living in a custodial setting.

This chapter raised questions as to the extent to which the current context of the MBU in New Zealand women's prisons is conducive to facilitating a nurturing experience. Ultimately, it would appear that changing the structure of the environment inside the prison to include an MBU facility does not completely challenge the wider authoritarian institutional framework. As Freitas and colleagues (2016) wrote, "the disciplinary regimens of penal institutions are not in harmony with the conditions under which motherhood is exercised outside of prison" (p.431). It may be that the nature of the MBU environment in fact reinforced for many mothers, issues they faced in their experience of oppression in their own communities outside. Women who have experienced control in their lives potentially do whatever is required to protect themselves (Stark, 2009). In particular for Māori, cultural considerations are significant when understanding disempowerment and

diminished tino rangatiratanga.[44] Within an environment focused on monitoring mothering, establishing a unit supportive of intimacy, attachment and relationship building appears challenging. How mothers perceived this environment as impacting on their relationship with their children is the focus of the following chapter.

[44] Tino Rangatiratanga: Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control and power.

6. CHILD CENTEREDNESS

Honouring Children's Needs

The United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child (UNCROC) guides decisions in New Zealand involving children and their best interests. New Zealand adopted this human rights treaty after its establishment in 1989, representing a considerable commitment to protect children (Ministry of Justice, 2018). UNCROC specified in 54 articles the obligation of countries to maintain basic and fundamental human rights standards for children. In particular, article 3.1 required that "In all actions concerning the children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration" (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). In addition, article 27.1 declared "State parties recognise the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development" (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). However, frameworks such as this that aim to protect the rights of the child are regularly challenged within the institutional setting of the prison (Alejos et al., 2005).

When a mother is imprisoned, inevitably her children are affected. This includes children that move to live with their mother in prison and older siblings left outside who are also impacted by separation (Gilad & Gat, 2013; Smith, 2014). As previously noted, young children who have their mother removed from their lives are at risk of reduced academic achievement, insecure attachment, behavioural problems, criminal involvement and cognitive deficits (Bowlby, 1973; Dallaire, 2007; Freitas et al., 2016; Gilad & Gat, 2013; Gregoire, Dolan, Birmingham, Mullee & Coulson, 2010; Pedersen, 2004; Poehlmann, 2005a). Making provision for babies to stay with their mother in prison was intended by the Department of Corrections to provide children with the best possible start to life (Department of Corrections, 2017b). Much of the emphasis on establishing the MBU focused on facilitating mother—child attachment

and recognised the long-term benefits for children in developing early bonds (Department of Corrections, 2017b; Goshin & Byrne, 2009). Policy focused on early intervention demonstrates a commitment to put the wellbeing of the child at the forefront of decision making (The Treasury, 2019).

Research indicates that prison nurseries can accommodate both the confinement of the prisoner while serving the best interests of the child (Alejos et al., 2005; Goshin & Byrne, 2009; Smith, 2014). However, the idea of housing a child within the prison has nevertheless been criticised as a violation of the rights of the child (Dwyer, 2014; Hamper, 2014). Assessing the suitability of the prison environment for the child against the value of attachment and the implications of separation is a significant and contentious human rights and ethical debate (Gilad & Gat, 2013; Smith, 2014). As New Zealand legislation enables children to live with their mother inside prison, children's rights and wellbeing must be protected.

Throughout this chapter, participants' stories highlight the complexities involved with housing children in prison. Mothers' accounts illustrate the benefits for their children in an environment specifically for the purpose of facilitating breastfeeding, bonding, attachment and promoting healthy child development. Participants felt privileged to experience motherhood within this unit. However, spatial, temporal and social limitations for the children were also apparent, and this chapter explores these dimensions. In addition, more significant aspects of mothers' journeys through arrest, MBU application process, child removals and paroles, highlight the stress experienced by mothers, and by association, the child at these different stages of the criminal justice process. Participant stories suggested some aspects of the prison environment did have an adverse impact on wellbeing, arguably violating children's rights, and interrupting the attachment process. It is also recognized that most of the participant mothers in this research came from chaotic and abusive lives in the community that may have also been detrimental to the developing mother-child relationship. Nevertheless, despite the potential risks associated with any alternative living arrangements mothers might have faced, the MBU is obligated to provide a place that serves to promote the wellbeing of the mother and the best interests of the child.

Developing Mother-Child and Family/ Whānau Relationships when in the MBU

Previous research discussed in Chapter Three highlighted attachment as one of the most significant developmental milestones in the early stages of a child's life (Hamper, 2014; McMillen, 2012). Attachment development is the foundation around which all other experiences are centred and the framework from which all future relationships will develop (Goshin & Byrne, 2009; Perry, 2013; Sroufe, 2005). According to attachment theory, although later growth creates change, early experiences are fundamental and never completely lost (Bowlby, 1973; Sroufe, 2005). Attachment is understood as the development of an innate emotional security measure attracting a baby to a significant other for the purpose of seeking safety and protection (Bowlby, 1973). Socialisation and interactional patterns impact on the ability of a mother and child to bond and have an influence on future relationships and adult attachment styles (Belsky et al., 2012; Simpson et al., 2012). Therefore, the process of early relationship development in the wider course of growth plays a significant role in the life course trajectory (Sroufe, 2005).

The implications of quality early interaction appeared as a fundamental argument for the legislative change to allow children to remain in prison with their mother (Department of Corrections, 2008). In her memoir, "Jail Baby" Deborah Jiang Stein (2014) delivered a first-hand account of her life, starting with spending her first year inside prison with her mother. Jiang Stein (2018) highlighted how this period of bonding and attachment, although brief, contributed to development of what she later recognised as her "sense of security". Children with secure attachments develop, among other things, a greater capacity for self-regulation, self-reliance, social competence, coping skills, a positive self-image and resilience (Dawson et al., 2000; Goldsmith, Oppenheim & Wanlass, 2004; Sroufe, 2005). This chapter will use mothers' stories to explore how children's needs and wellbeing are met through the extent to which the MBU to operates with a child-centred focus.

The Value of Mother-Child Time

Developmental theories of attachment and social learning predict that the nature and quality of time invested in an infant's early years is crucial for developing strong mother-child bonds, positive early connections, and cognitive and social stimulation (Huston & Rosenkrantz Aronson, 2005). Time invested is a "key parental 'resource' for child development", especially in the early stages of growth (Kalil, Ryan & Corey, 2012, p.1362). Moreover, according to attachment theory, the quality of this time spent with a child through sensitive engagement and positive affect is of particular value (Booth, Clarke-Stewart, Vandell, McCartney & Owen, 2002; Huston & Rosenkrantz Aronson, 2005). Caregiver responsiveness, in the current research literature, is understood as the "temporal sequence of child-act and mother-respond" that contributes to children achieving developmental milestones (Tamis-LeMonda, Bornstein, & Baumwell, 2001, p.763). Research further highlights the correlation between language growth and the amount of responsive social exchanges between children and their caregivers (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2001). Although formal attachment or developmental testing was not carried out in this research as in the studies cited above, what most participants acknowledged were overwhelming positive feelings associated with bonding and attachment that developed when having one-on-one time with their child. Although the demands of 24-hour parenting discussed previously in Chapter Five were challenging, participants remarked on the value of this rare opportunity to individually engage with their child without the stress of other siblings in a busy family or due to the disruption of their lives outside. Making comments about their child benefitting from them being able to have "all the attention" with "no outside distractions" meant participants, like Tui, found special in-depth relationships developed:

> It has made me learn how valuable one on one time with children is. Cause if we were out I would be with her all the time but I wouldn't actually be spending valuable time with her like sitting with her, playing with her, giving her all the attention and reading to her. Stuff like that I wouldn't have been doing. I would have been too busy. It would have been "son, come play with your

> sister". It would have been like that. Yeah it is like an unbreakable bond, that's how I feel. To see the progress that she makes and not miss out on her first steps and words and her first teeth. (Tui)

Life in the MBU was described as structured and predictable, which enabled time to be spent in a slow-paced and stable environment. Although mothers' stories reflected the impact of incarceration, having this time with their child was for some the first time they had been able to prioritise their child's needs. Nancy—who has other children—reflected in the following excerpt how this was the first time she was without distraction and actually being a mother. Nancy reinforced this sense of self-worth found in the task of "doing mothering" in her transcript below:

> My whole focus has been around her, whereas last time it was partners, or you know just dumb shit on the outside. Now it has just been about her. Like it is how it should be on the outside I guess. So she just kind of feels like my first baby, cause of what I am doing now and I am experiencing all these firsts (Nancy)

As mothers were able to spend time with their child, awareness of their milestones appeared throughout most mothers' stories. Having the opportunity to be this invested and focused on their child's development meant mothers had time to "just notice the little things that you take for granted in your child's growth" (Levani). Time spent together was recognised by mothers as a privilege that encouraged a connection and developed their bonds. Significantly for Aroha, spending this time together meant her child recognised her as "mum" and that, importantly, she would not be a stranger to her child when they left prison. Aroha added that she would not have to "go home where she is calling me Aroha, or Aunty and not knowing me as mum." Tui also commented on the additional health benefits for their child in having "the opportunity to breastfeed longer" than they did with their other children, promoting positive psychosocial development and mother-child attachment (Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford, 2013; Feldman & Eidelman, 2003; Kim, Feldman, Mayes, Eicher, Thompson, Leckman & Swain, 2011; Marquis, 2008). Furthermore, mothers

commented that their children who experienced the value of time with them in the MBU were more advanced than their siblings at a similar age:

> Noticing the difference in her and my other children is amazing. She knows a lot more than what they did at her age. That is because of me sitting down with her and showing her and teaching her. She loves to like help in the kitchen and stuff like that. My other kids just used to sit there with a box of toys or something. I was there but in the background. (Tui)

Ultimately, most mothers spoke of their appreciation at having spent this enforced time together and, as Kahurangi commented, she was "glad to have had that opportunity" to provide for the best interests of their child. Nancy felt the structured environment of the MBU encouraged good mothering and described herself on the inside as a "superstar mum". When mothers were able to spend time with their child, and when the quality of that time was sensitive, responsive, engaging and stimulating for the infant, secure attachment and healthy development became more likely. The value of this connectedness extended beyond mother-child attachment to facilitating bonds with their family outside.

Encouraging Family Bonds

Events and celebrations with extended family and whānau were recognised within the MBU as essential to make the environment for the child reflect what they might have otherwise experienced if they were in the community. As Silverman (2005) notes, prison nursery birthdays celebrated with cakes, balloons, friends and family contribute to the normalising experience of children resident in prison. Participants recalled memorable moments shared with family members and siblings attending celebrations and significant achievements while in the unit. Some mothers spoke of how their family came into the prison for their child's first birthday. Lexi had her child on the outside come into the prison to join her sister in being baptised. Tui had family attend a programme graduation and took pleasure in also showing them through the unit. Although family days did not happen as much as mothers would

have liked, this wider family involvement was important for keeping children positively connected with their families outside (Robertson, 2012).

One of the ways that I noticed family connectedness and extended family/whānau relationships were maintained within the MBU was through the sharing of food. This was frequently mentioned as part of any family gathering or celebration. Māori participants in particular made reference to shared moments at mealtimes facilitating whānaungatanga and building on family relationships. King, Hodgetts, Rua and Te Whetu (2015) drew from their research that for Māori this mealtime was where "culturally embedded ethical values, such as manaakitanga and whānaungatanga manifest" (p.23).[45] Care for others, generosity and relationships are facilitated through the medium of food (King et al., 2015). Levani and Kahurangi, of Pasifika and Māori ethnicity respectively, made particular mention of these celebratory mealtimes in facilitating family connectedness for both them and their child. Levani commented that at one whānau day where she cooked for her family, "we all sat down as a family and ate together for about three hours, played games and that, and then they left again."

The nature of maternal relationships and family connections can be powerful with lasting effects. As highlighted in Chapter Three, it is important to appreciate the significance of early mother-child relationships to enable an understanding of how prison might affect this process. In this section I have highlighted the positive influence of the MBU environment in facilitating connections and developing familial bonds and attachment. This chapter will go on to illustrate aspects of prison life that may play a role, even temporarily, in disrupting this progress, potentially influencing children's early development.

The Impact of the Prison Environment

The ecological systems approach introduced by Bronfenbrenner (1977) is a useful tool through which to look at the wellbeing of the child and place them at the centre

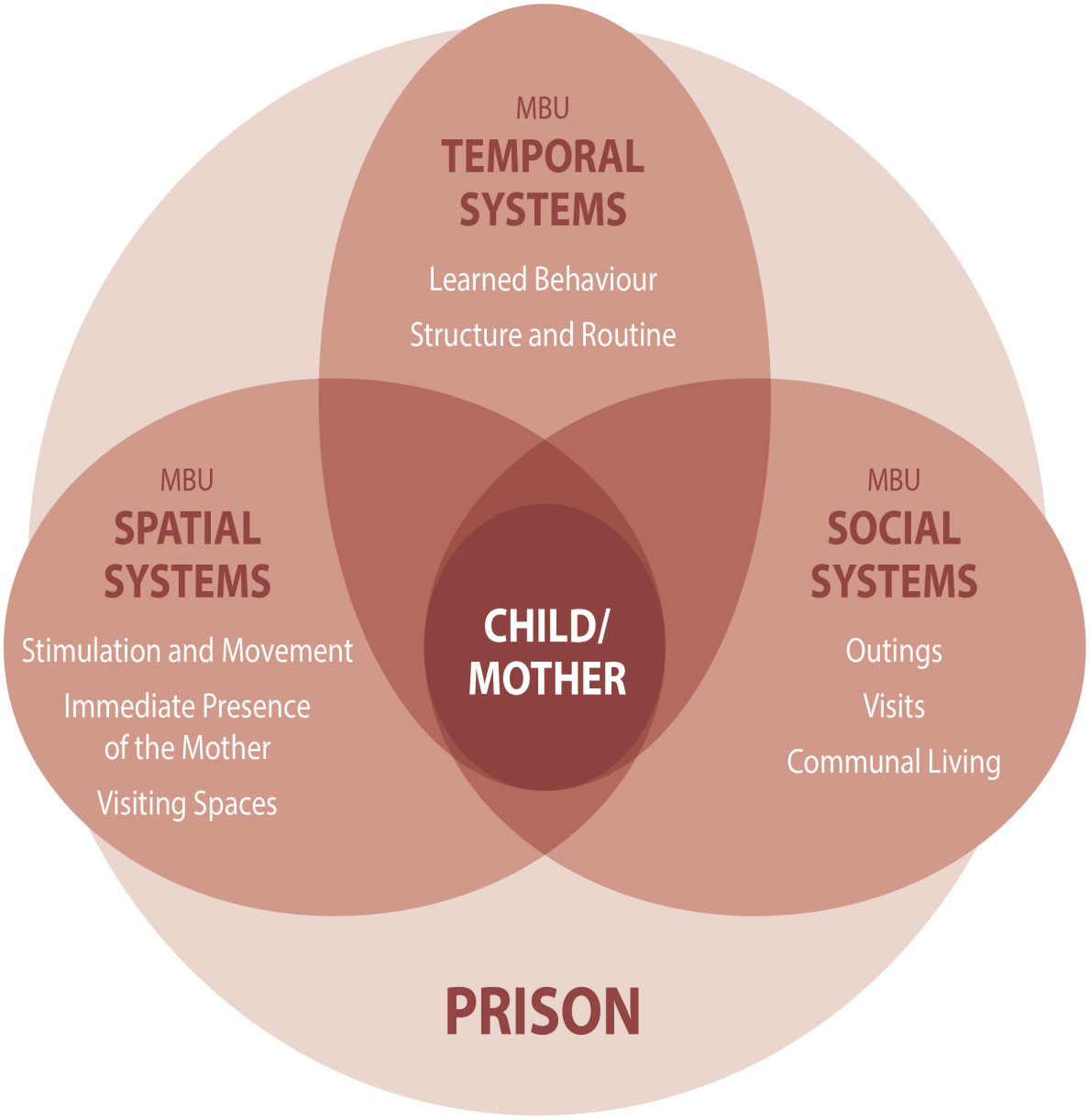
[45] Manaakitanga: hospitality, kindness, generosity and support. Whānaungatanga: a relationship through shared experiences and working together providing people with a sense of belonging.

of what is happening around them. Bronfenbrenner argues that a child's development is influenced by their interaction with the environment—human development is understood as a "joint function of the *person* and *environment*" (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p.107). Children's wellbeing can be understood within the microsystem in which the child is "embedded", the complexities of the relationships, and difficulties faced during their development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For the purposes of this research, Figure 6.1 graphically depicts the systems surrounding the mother-child relationship within the MBU and their inter-relatedness. Participants' stories are illustrated with this figure as they offered examples of the experiences in prison the participants felt influenced their children's rights, affected their wellbeing, and contributed towards healthy development. Accounts are organised in this section to highlight the spatial, temporal and social influences of the nursery environment (Jaffé, Pons & Wicky, 1997). Mothers' accounts illustrate how the interplay between these systems inevitably impacted on their relationship with their child and their child's development.

Influence of Spatial Systems

Although mothers recognised benefits for their child in having focused and quality time together within this custodial environment, due to the restricted nature of this space, the prison nursery can limit a child in terms of restricted movement, exploration and exposure to stimulating and diverse environments (Jaffé et al., 1997). Eloff and Moen (2003) observed that environmental and spatial restrictions in prison, such as limited outside stimulation and resources, influenced interaction patterns between mother and child. According to Jiménez and Palacios (2003), babies do not become sensitive to the environment they are in until 18 months of age; however the inevitable restrictions imposed in any custodial environment deserve consideration as to their impact on a child's development.

Figure 6-1: Systems within the MBU



While mothers spoke favourably about the value of time spent together with their child, comments were also made about the MBU being "unmotivating", where they felt "lazy", referring frequently to "boredom" and having "nothing to do". This contradictory response to the environment is further highlighted in Chapter Seven where participants interviewed post-release reflect on the benefits to the structure and routine they experienced in the MBU. As the mothers' priority was to care for their child, some participants found sitting watching their children as feeling like the "hours go slow", compared to inmates in other areas of the prison who were in work place programmes or participating in courses that mothers referred to as "doing things and busy". It became apparent that although mothers in the MBU had the time to engage and interact with their children, some participants found the extent of this to be burdensome and tedious. Participants passed comments about certain mothers who "did nothing" and were inattentive to their child's needs. One participant gave an example of a mother who consistently sat her baby on the couch with a bottle to feed while she did something else, rather that cradling her child. Another example was a mother who constantly let her child cry, without attending to baby's needs. From my observations, some mothers appeared to lack the motivation or knowledge about how to engage with their child. It became apparent that in providing the MBU space and the opportunity to spend one-on-one time with their child, it was equally important that mothers felt supported and encouraged to ensure this time consisted of quality social and stimulating interactions for both mother and child. However, it may be difficult to find a balance between enhanced parenting programme provision that engages the mothers and promotes pro-social parenting practice, and avoiding making parents feel like they were being lectured to (as discussed in Chapter Five).

Some mothers made comments about how the MBU environment did not satisfy the enthusiasm and eagerness demonstrated by the older children in the unit in their need for new stimuli. From around the age of 18 months infants become more determined to increase their movements and explore (Jaffé et al., 1997). Participants with older children felt that the MBU was not set up to accommodate this normal

aspect of child development. Levani, for example, attributed her toddler's misadventures to the spatial limitations of confinement in prison:

> I mean he is one year and he is just so used to everything around here now, he needs something different. Up until one, he was all right. But after one, I noticed he just started getting bored with whatever was around here. Cause you come in and it is the same thing, go outside and it is the same thing. He needed something totally different. Because at the age he is at, he is into everything. He is into exploring things, and then getting bored. Like the toys, he is just not into the toys now cause these toys have never changed since he has seen them. So he is walking around the house flicking switches on other things and putting his hand down the drain. There is just nothing else that he can do. (Levani)

Although excursions outside the prison were provided, such as trips to local attractions, outside playgroups and swimming, the daily spatial restrictions of the MBU living environment were felt by some mothers to limit a child's ability to venture out and satisfy their need to explore and experience adventure. Areas to go with their children within the prison were limited, with mothers commenting that there was "nowhere to walk the babies". Levani highlights below how the restrictions on her infant's movements became difficult at this particular time in her child's development:

> When the doors are locked and we are inside he knows not to touch the door. But at times, when he gets into his cheeky mood, he will open the back door and he is out. Honestly one year is practically enough. Cause now once those gates open he just wants to run. And he can't. (Levani)

Obvious spatial restrictions meant the MBU provided the immediate presence of a readily available mother, which satisfied requirements suggested by Bowlby (1988,

2012) around the significant role of the primary caregiver. However, this close and constant presence and inseparability of the mother and child may not give the space necessary to acquire this cognitive developmental milestone of trust, also known as "symbolic representation" (Bowlby, 1973; Sroufe, 2005). As children increase their range of movement around 18 months of age and start to leave the secure base of the mother to discover new environments, the development of healthy detachment results as the child is assured in the knowledge of finding comfort upon return (Goldsmith et al., 2004; Murray & Murray, 2010). Erikson (1980) highlighted this as an important stage of development, suggesting if the conditions are not favourable, tension results for the infant between establishing autonomy versus shame and doubt.[46] While in the unit I observed some children who did display anxious behaviour, clinging to their mother if someone unknown to them entered the unit, or crying and running after their mother if they got up to leave the room. However, this behaviour may not be due to the MBU environment and instead was the result of normal toddler reactions as they started to develop their own sense of self. For some, the availability of family members or the outside childcare offered at Christchurch MBU helped to create some separation.

When returning to their communities, some children developed particular interest in objects they did not have access to within the prison environment. Kate spoke about her child being fascinated by the portable phone. Lexi commented that her child's reaction to cats and dogs was to "scream and run". References were frequently made to children being overwhelmed and Carrie said her child had "too many people in her face". Release environments were described as busy and stimulating compared to the MBU, with Aroha saying, "it was all too much". Kate's child was also fearful of his father who was incarcerated at the same time and with whom he had not had contact. The first time Kate's son met his father he said, "I don't like you, this big tall guy, I don't like you". A lack of interaction with males when within the MBU was considered by some participants to have contributed to their child's sense of shyness.

[46] Erik Erikson suggests in his psychosocial theory of development that each person must pass through eight inter-related stages throughout their life cycle.

Participants were grateful for the visiting space in the MBU that could be used to interact with their families in a more relaxed and informal way. Having the ability to provide by being able to "make my family a cup of tea and have biscuits" created a space conducive to nurturing the family/whānau relationship. This further supported the previously illustrated cultural relevance of fostering connections and bonding through the sharing of food and mealtimes where mana is bestowed on the host in providing for others (King et al., 2015).[47] However, the spatial limitations of this visiting space were equally identified by some participants as impacting on the experiences and subsequent relationships that developed between their child, siblings and extended family members. Participants spoke about this space being inevitably busy, shared with multiple families and children, with the potential to be chaotic and noisy. The nature of this environment meant establishing relationships with other family members could be difficult where mothers shared stories of siblings missing out on "one-on-one" time together to develop a bond due to the influence of this environment. Levani shared here an example of her visiting experience:

> Families come into the activities room, which is often difficult because at the age my son is now he knows all the women down there. So he interrupts their visits by going to them and eating their biscuits and they feed him and talk to him. Like you can have ten ladies in there. If ten ladies turn up with all their children, it's a mad house. And then my child doesn't get the time to just be with his brothers and sisters. (Levani)

Influence of Temporal Systems

Although structure and routine are important for a child, prison routines likely limit spontaneity to the point of having adverse effects on the developing toddler (Jaffé et al., 1997). Goffman's (1961) concept of the total institution emphasises how

[47] Mana: prestige, power, authority, control, charisma, spiritual power and status.

repetitive rhythms and uniformity are used in prisons to create order. Such temporal influences within any institutional setting serve to heighten the routine nature of everyday activities. Within the MBU, routines became part of children's everyday life as learned behaviours were recognised. In line with social learning theory, new behaviours may be acquired by observing and imitating the actions of others when these behaviours are seen to be rewarded (Bandura, 1977). Participants offered stories of their children learning behaviour specific to the MBU by being exposed to the repetitive routines inherent to this environment but likely will not be encountered on the outside. Levani mentioned that when her child heard the rattle of the keys, he knew staff were at the door. Mothers spoke of how children knew officers as different, referring to them as "blue people". Children were seen to replace officers' radio earpieces to their ears if it was hanging down. Lexi's commentary below tells the story of a recently released child whom when in the MBU used to model particular behaviour:

> You get patted down every time you leave the unit, when you go to medical, when you go for a walk or you know anything like that so it is a bit hard for the children not to see the pat downs. There was one child here, she used to wait to get her card and go up against the wall and put her hands up and wait to get patted down. Whenever you leave the unit you have your little card, it is like a little ID and she would wait for her mum's ID and then go up against the wall and wait for a pat down. Yeah that is why they got all strict and said "turn the children round." But you know sometimes it can't be helped cause the child is walking round. (Lexi)

Influence of Social Systems

Social restrictions are most evident in prison in terms of limited access to the outside world, restricting children's interactions to those in their immediate environment. This results in exchanges with the same people in the same places in a daily rhythm, arguably limiting the child's exposure to a more diverse range of stimuli that might

be experienced if they were outside the prison. Leaving the MBU for community outings was thought to serve the best interests of the child. At the time of this research, mothers in Auckland were able to take their children to local swimming lessons and playgroup. In Christchurch, a day-care option was available for mothers involved in courses where the child was unable to attend. On occasions, mothers took their children to a nearby indoor children's play area or local attraction. However, these outings were experienced with mixed success. Although leaving the prison provided children with a range of diverse stimuli, participants felt their obvious affiliation with the prison through the presence of officers although they wore uniforms that were tracksuits, restricted their children from participating as regular individuals and limited their full involvement. Because of this perceived judgment, Nancy made a point of not having an officer accompany her into preschool to try and mitigate the adverse social effects of this for her child. Nancy stated she wanted to make this a "normal" experience, as there were other mothers around who would "judge" her and her child. This feeling of being evaluated was also experienced at playgroup in the community where participants commented they felt a divide existed between themselves and the other playgroup mothers, impacting their children:

> When you go to playgroup they all know that you come from the prison so they don't talk to you. So you are sitting in one end of the hall, and they are up the other end and you know the kids are just roaming in the middle. (Lexi)

MBUs are only located in Auckland and Christchurch, which means some participants must move quite a distance from their home. Because of this, some children experienced infrequent visits from family members as travelling to the prison was often financially and logistically too difficult. Participants suggested this lack of contact influenced the relationships their children developed with siblings, grandparents and in some cases their fathers outside of the immediate prison environment. Nancy in particular felt infrequent visits influenced the development of a bond between her child and the child's grandmother. She did not have family living close to provide support with visits happening only once every six months. Nancy

stated her child "doesn't remember them each time and just sort of cries and looks around like 'who are you people?'" To encourage these outside relationships, the prison provided baby bonding time each week for an hour and a half for the father of Emma's baby. This practice recognised the importance of maintaining relationships and nurturing this paternal bond. Participants commented on the benefits to their children in having more focused and frequent visiting with family and, in particular, with siblings to establish what Aroha highlights below as often difficult relationships:

> I reckon they should give us more days in the MBU where your family can come in. Especially the baby's sibling's cause my daughter didn't like it. My daughter didn't like my other daughters being around me. She hated it. She would push them away. She would be like "my mummy, my mummy". Perhaps, the option of siblings coming in for a day with just mum and the baby, with just them. (Aroha)

The reality of living in the communal environment of the MBU was spoken about with mixed opinions by the mothers and leading to an ambiguous of the unit. This was discussed in Chapter Five where living in close confinement stimulated at times an environment of competition and comparison between the mothers. Mothers also refer to their experience of forming in-depth connections with other inmates and certain staff as a result of living together in this confined and restricted setting. The ambivalence of this context is experienced as competition on one hand and close friendships and connections on the other. This idea is developed further in Chapter Seven.

The aforementioned spatial, temporal and social features of the MBU environment do potentially influence aspects of a child's development. However, any influence that the MBU environment had on the early development of the child identified in this chapter did not appear permanent and was seen to disappear soon after release (Catan, 1992; Women's Prison Association, 2009). Nevertheless, participants did suggest the first weeks after leaving prison were "rough" and "difficult" for their children. However, they also indicated that this time passed as they established

themselves in new surroundings. Kate's commentary below illustrates the difficult child behaviours most mothers experienced when transitioning home:

> My child had me to himself all of the time when I was in there and there was nothing to do other than what he wanted me to do. So if he wanted something I would get up and get it. So now he will scream at me when he wants something, and I will be like "oh wait a minute you know I am doing something." And he is like "whaaaaaa," like come on, what is happening here, where is my attention. He hated the dogs, was scared of cars, who are all these new people that are talking to me, what is this new house, who is this man, what is going on. He was just like really overwhelmed by it all I think and really unsettled for the first weeks. However I am really surprised how quickly he has adapted to it all. He was fine, like after the first couple of months and then it was like he had always been on the outside. I don't think it impacted him at all. (Kate)

The Impact of Compounding Stressors

Research has highlighted the compounding stressors faced by new parents simultaneously dealing with poverty and addiction issues (De Hann, 2016). These are exacerbated for most women in prison, where mental health issues, addictions, physical and sexual abuse have been a part of their lives often for some time (Byrne et al., 2010). Some participants in this research shared accounts of physical and sexual trauma experienced when growing up. Some mothers had unstable relationships with partners or family and previous criminal justice involvement. Mothers acknowledged anger problems and drug addictions that ultimately led to their incarceration. References were made by mothers to previous Oranga Tamariki involvement in their pasts, both with them when they were young and in relation to their current children. Significant trauma was experienced by all participants who had left children on the outside, and in some cases where there was little contact with or information provided about these children. Additionally, participants had

just become new mothers while in prison, three were first-time mothers, and were coping with emotions and anxieties that were part of that experience.

As a result of these compounding issues, mothers in prison may find it difficult to provide the love, time and attention required of a parent to adequately care for their child (Gilad & Gat, 2013). Consequently, mother's attention and interactions towards their babies may be inconsistent (Candelori & Dal Dosso, 2007; Makariev & Shaver, 2010). Eloff and Moen (2003) found women endeavoured to carry out the role and responsibilities of parenting on top of managing these largely unaddressed personal issues. Inevitably, a mother's diminished wellbeing due to these compounding stressors impacts on her child. This idea is illustrated in Chapter Two where the nature of the relationship a mother develops with her child is influenced by their own early experience (Borelli, Goshin, Joestl, Clark & Byrne, 2010; Bowlby, 2012; Rholes et al., 1995). Securely attached adults are more likely to be sensitive to their child's needs in terms of their love and warmth and more willing to accept support, thereby moderating the effects of the experience of stress on their children (Borelli et al., 2010). Mothers in the MBU shared in their stories how the combination of psychological and social needs were sometimes overwhelming—as Naomi stated, "it is so hard, especially when you got your own stuff going on".

Participants' stories stressed the need for an approach that might take into account the multiple stressors they experienced alongside having their child with them in the MBU. Research has shown that by providing the right conditions, the prison nursery is able to provide support and emotional security to enable mothers to form secure attachment with their children, despite their own internal attachment issues and compounding risk factors (Byrne et al., 2010). Programmes of this nature have been effective in disrupting the cycle of insecure intergenerational attachment styles (Byrne et al., 2010; Kanaboshi et al., 2017). Potentially, MBU design based on a therapeutic community framework could take into account the range of compounding stressors that this participant cohort present. A therapeutic community could work to address the many aspects of a mother's overall wellbeing and be a way to draw upon the range of practitioner expertise required to support mothers in this specialised way.

In addition to the spatial, temporal and social features previously highlighted in this chapter, this research identified significant experiences a mother faced during her criminal justice involvement. These stressful experiences outlined below, were found to have quite a different impact on the mother-child relationship, and in certain conditions interrupted this development, compared with the features identified above.

Interrupting Attachment

The disruptive effects of early stress and trauma—both prenatal and postnatal—are found to have a long-term impact on a child's early brain development (Dawson et al., 2000; Quaker Council for European Affairs, 2007; Shonkoff & Garner, 2012). The development of attachment is at risk of being disrupted by situations such as environmental influences of "pain, pervasive threat, or a chaotic environment" (Perry, 2013, p.5). The Department of Corrections draws attention to this risk, stating that the treatment of pregnant prisoners should be undertaken in a "sensitive manner that takes into account their particular needs and risks while optimising the wellbeing of the child" (Department of Corrections, 2019b, M.03.02.03).

Participants' accounts of arrests and births while incarcerated, waiting times for MBU applications and approvals, parole outcomes, and the removal of children as punishment while in the prison, were all stressful events that impacted upon the mothers and their children. According to mothers' accounts, these incidents caused stress, jeopardised pregnancies and increased the risk for the unborn or developing child. This section will give voice to participants' experiences as they tell their version of events that left some with concerns about the future impact of the prison experience on their child. Throughout this writing, it has been acknowledged that all actors involved will have their own version of events. Chapter Three addressed the notion of individuals ultimately framing an account to tell a story to shape their preferred storyline (Josselson, 2011; Riessman, 1993). However, participants faced challenges and difficulties within prison that potentially influenced their relationship development with their child.

Arrest

Conditions surrounding the arrest situation can have a significant impact and lasting effects on the young persons involved (Smith, 2014). In some instances, children's accounts of the arrest of their parent can be traumatising and damaging (Smith & Jakobsen, 2014). Common to all participants, arrest stories were characterised by a sense of helplessness and loss of autonomy as a mother who would not be able to attend to her child, to comfort them, or even know if they were alright. Kate's narrative provided insight into her experience and her concern not only for her child who was with her at home during the arrest, but the effects of such trauma on her unborn baby. Kate illustrated the powerlessness she felt in the following excerpt from an interview that addressed the impact of this arrest experience:

> When they come in they were like "don't move don't move" and I was like "but my son" and they are like tough you know, "you are not getting to your son, just stay there and we will bring him to you." So I don't know if he was awake, if they woke him, how they woke him, what it was like for him. I have not really talked to him about it. I want to talk to him about it when I get home and ask him if he is ok. Cause he was five so it must have been pretty full on for him to be woken up by strange people and all of these people in his house. It must have been pretty horrible for him. They knew I was pregnant; they knew I would be in bed. I had nightmares about them coming into my house, cause like it's scary. People busting in, bashing down your front door. They smashed the glass door and then came in with guns. It's quite scary. I went into the hospital with the stress of the whole thing because I started bleeding when I got put into the police cells. Ended up staying in hospital for a couple of days, so that was pretty full on. (Kate)

Waiting Times

Some anxiety was experienced by some mothers who had to wait lengthy periods to find out if their MBU application was approved. This meant feelings of uncertainty could be experienced from the time they entered prison, sometimes early in their pregnancy, right up until the birth and even beyond. It could be argued that this time lag was for mothers to demonstrate their behaviour was conducive to being part of the MBU. However, this uncertainty could result in feelings of stress and grief (Eloff & Moen, 2003). Such tension imposed on pregnant mothers is arguably harmful and may not be in the best interests of the unborn child with increased risks associated with stress. Participants' accounts illustrated this period of waiting to find out if they could keep their child was "traumatic" and "stressful". Kahurangi had her baby removed after giving birth at the hospital, but the baby was later returned to her in the MBU. She described this experience as "the worst day of my life". Nancy found out six weeks before her due date that her application was approved after entering prison at eight weeks pregnant and spending her entire pregnancy in the main prison wing. Nancy shares her opinion about this time spent waiting for a decision and how this might have influenced her choice to terminate:

> I was told they could not tell me until the end, like pretty much it was eight months I think when I found out I was allowed to keep her. I was in wing 2. It was really stressful. They should have decided from the start. They should say yes or no, however if you choose to get misconduct then we could revoke it. But they definitely should not make you wait that whole time. Especially cause I had come in so early. So it was pretty much from eight weeks right the way through till eight months that I didn't know. If I had of known at 12 weeks I wasn't allowed to keep her I would have had a termination. I wouldn't have had a baby to send out, I would have terminated. (Nancy)

Kate also spoke of the difficult time she experienced waiting to find out if her application was successful, although in contrast to Nancy, this wait was only five days. However, this additional strain on top of her arrest experience, when she was heavily pregnant, made this a difficult time:

> I was already stressed out about having the armed defenders come in, and about the fact I had been bleeding, and that I was having a baby here. Everything that I had planned was whipped out from underneath me. On top of the fact that I had to sit for five days and wonder whether I was actually going to be allowed to keep my baby in here. So those five or six days, when I was three weeks away from having my baby, waiting to hear whether or not I was going to be able to have him, were horrid, just horrid. I was stressing my arse off for that whole week, like panicking. (Kate)

Aroha highlights how she was still fighting to keep her baby with her in prison two days after the birth after having been in prison since she was six months pregnant:

> While I was in hospital, I had given birth and I still hadn't been told. I gave birth just after midnight, and it wasn't until not that day, the next day about ten o'clock and they were like "well we haven't got confirmation that you're going back to the unit Aroha so we are going to have to handcuff you, spend as much time as you can with your baby." And then they got a phone call within the time they were just about to handcuff me and take my baby. And that was about 36 hours after giving birth to her, I found out I was accepted into the unit. It was horrible, it was shit. Especially not knowing. That is all it is, it is just about the not knowing whether you are accepted. (Aroha)

Even after being accepted into the MBU, mothers may go on to experience the following years marked by anxiety and apprehension over the possibility of being separated from their child if they did not make parole (Jaffé et al, 1997). It was a

very real fear for participants whose child may reach the upper age limit and be removed from the MBU while they finished their sentence, although this did not happen for any of the mothers who were a part of this research. However, Nancy spoke about living with this uncertainty referring to her experience as “torture”, facing the Board when she was just weeks away from her child turning two while still having 11 weeks remaining to serve.

Nesting

Prison policy highlights the importance of spending time and being able to set up a comfortable place for the baby to return to from hospital. The Department of Corrections states “If possible, you will move to the unit a few weeks before your baby is born so you have time to set up your room and get familiar with the routines and environment” (Department of Corrections, 2017b). Referred to as the “nesting effect”, this places importance on women spending time preparing their homes for the new baby’s arrival (Poudevigne & O’Connor, 2006, p.22). Despite being incarcerated, participants in this research shared how they enjoyed the experience of setting up a baby room surrounded by special things. This contributed to them feeling settled and confident towards the prospect of the birth. However, the unpredictable nature of the prison environment meant this time spent on “nesting” did not always happen. Women commented that when decisions were made for them that prevented this occurring, they felt like they had missed out on a piece of the process of having a baby. Nancy recalled how she had to “moan lots” to move to the MBU before her birth, stating “I want to get her room done, I wanna meet people, I wanna sort of you know “nest” a little I suppose”. Kate remembers in her account below the difficulty she experienced when unable to spend time in the MBU before the birth and the added stress that was caused in not having that time to settle:

> They kept me in the wing until three days before I was due to go for my caesarean. I thought this was pretty shit cause I didn’t even have time to sort out the room for my baby to come home to. I was booked in for a caesarean on the Friday, and they never brought

> me out to self-cares until Tuesday. I went into labour Tuesday night and I hadn't set up anything for [child]. I did not even have a bed made for him. And then had to come back and settle in with this new baby. (Kate)

Birth

Silverman (2005) highlighted how many women experienced pregnancy, birth and new motherhood as a period of "immense turmoil" (p.157). For mothers in prison there is the potential for the time of birth to be a particularly difficult experience, where family members may not be notified or are unable to attend the birth (Quaker Council for European Affairs, 2007). Kate's narrative highlighted how her partner who was incarcerated at the time of their child's birth, was not able to be present and equally not informed when his child was born. In addition, Kate's parents were unable to be there due to the distance involved. She highlights here how events surrounding the birth of her son were upsetting:

> Having my son and not even being able to phone my partner to say that your son's born. Then finding out that he actually never found out. The women's prison rung men's but men's didn't pass the message on. A few days after the birth my partner rung his mum to see how things were getting on and she said "congratulations." He was like "what for?" She said "your son was born on Wednesday." He didn't even know, no one had told him. So that was pretty hard knowing that. Not being able to talk to him about what we were going to call him. We had had a few discussions about it but we had never decided his name. I had to make a decision without him because I couldn't leave him without a name and they wouldn't let me talk to him. Mum and dad came up. They tried to get here for the birth but they couldn't make it so they didn't get there in time. (Kate)

Removal

As already acknowledged, children's early experiences are critically formative in shaping a child's relationship to the world. For healthy growth and secure attachment, the caregiver–child relationship must be continuous, where separation of those "who are still in the process of becoming attached can lead to severe trauma and insecure attachment" (McMillen, 2012, p.1822). Bowlby (1969, 1973) suggested in his early work that the sudden absence of the maternal caregiver in early childhood causes acute distress and results in adverse consequences for personality development. Before the age of 18 months, separation may impact the child's ability to form future healthy relationships and increase the risk of developmental and behavioural problems (Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson & Collins, 2005).

Removing a child from the MBU may serve as a legitimate disciplinary response for prison authorities when a mother has broken the terms of the parenting agreement they entered into in order to be part of the MBU programme.[48] Due to the lived experience of participants being at the heart of the purpose of this study, my research presents a unique perspective on the impact of removals on the women by providing a voice to this particular participant population. The stories the women told of having children removed emphasised how traumatic this separation was for them, and from their perspective, the potential impact on their child. This aligns with research which considers the significant risk to the development of secure attachment when a child is removed from their caregiver. Long-term detrimental effects in areas of health, education and social skills may result from the forced removal of a child from their primary caregiver within the prison nursery (11 Million, 2008; Byrne et al., 2010; Dwyer, 2014; Enos, 2001; Goldsmith et al., 2004; Pojman, 2001). When babies are removed straight after birth, it is harder for the mother to bond with her child (Pollock, 2003). Separation is loaded with strong unpleasant feelings for women, and is painful for children, where feelings of rejection can be long lasting (Freitas et al., 2016; Quaker Council for European Affairs, 2007).

[48] In communication from the Department of Corrections I understand that, at the time of writing, there is no policy that identifies specific procedures regarding removals (K. Gillies, personal communication, October 3rd, 2019).

Stories were shared by participants about the events leading up to and moments of separation between themselves and their child. When narrated by the participants, their stories were unanimously distressing and emotional. The following writing focuses specifically on the events of these removals and how the mother experienced this separation. The participants' understanding of the impact this removal had on the wellbeing of the child and the mother-child relationship is also explored. This discussion of children's rights and wellbeing must also be considered alongside of the obligations and responsibilities required of the mother to honour the social contract agreed to in order to be able to remain in the unit. To be a part of the MBU, mothers were required to complete a parenting agreement (Department of Corrections, 2008), which meant they agreed to comply with certain conditions. This agreement indicated that the child could be removed from the prison at any time as a consequence of a disciplinary offence where a mother's behaviour was deemed to be a risk to the child or the safe functioning of the unit (Appendix 2). In this way, an amount of personal agency remained with the mother to ensure their behaviour was in accordance with what was expected in the MBU. However, removal as a form of punishment would appear to contradict the purpose of the unit to primarily develop a relationship and nurture the mother-child bond.

Five participants who had their child removed while they were a part of the MBU shared their experiences. Additionally, one woman experienced a temporary and then subsequent permanent removal of her child when back in the community after spending two years in the MBU. Participants spoke of the pain involved in having their child taken from them, saying such things as "it broke me", "it crunched my heart", "I felt guilty, I felt sad, I felt lost, I was like unsure". The following full narrative was chosen to present an in-depth account of one participant's experience. I chose to provide this complete narrative to offer a context, from Carrie's perspective and in her own words. Pulling dramatic sentences from all participants' narratives would not, in my opinion, offer the depth required to give their stories justice and is at risk of sensationalising what was a painful and life changing event. Carrie's story is used here to highlight the extent of trauma caused in the process of having her child removed from the MBU and the potential for this to have an impact

on the mother-child and whānau relationships. Conversations with unit managers at the time of these removals implied there were multiple circumstances that contributed to these decisions being made. As I was not privy to the exact circumstances surrounding the decisions to remove the children, I feel I am not in a position to comment on the reasons for the removal. I chose to remain focused on the mothers' experience of this process, looking at how the mother-child relationship was disrupted and the impact this had on their relationship with their wider family/whānau. Although the following section is based on the mother's account, it is through this story that the reader may gain insight into the impact on the child when considered at the centre of this removal process. Carrie experienced the removal of her 18-month-old child twice in the time she was in prison. The first removal she experienced was sudden as recounted in the following transcript:

> The officer came to me and said "come on you got an interview." And then they took me, I come into the hallway here. My daughter was with me, but holding onto the officer's hand. They asked the officer to hold my child outside the room while we went in. And they go to me "your drug test come back positive." The door is shut with three women in here; there are officers out the door, my baby has gone. My baby has gone. They took her away. They called my mum and my mum had flown without me knowing, my mum was not allowed to tell me. My daughter was gone. I was screaming to them "I didn't do anything, I didn't do anything." I said "where is my daughter?" I did not get to say goodbye to her, get to see her or anything.
>
> They calmed me down, then took me to the At Risk Unit, took all my clothes off me and put me into this fuckin rug thing. I was absolutely distressed, I was absolutely fucked in the head, and they left me in this fuckin cell for overnight. I also went to the pound cause I got done for it as well. So I got my daughter taken off me and I had to do three days in the pound plus 14 days off privileges. After being humiliated in fuckin the ARU I went down to the pound,

> was there for three days. The second to last day of me being there I had an officer come back and tell me that my daughter was coming back. They had a meeting and they had decided to bring my daughter back. I was just so, I was an emotional wreck. The pain that I went through that day I have never gone through something that bad in my life before and I have been through some pretty bad stuff right down to getting molested. It sounds really fucked up but I would rather go through that than go through what I went through with my daughter.

Just two weeks after the return of her child Carrie experienced another removal after further charges. Carrie was visibly upset and took her time to tell the story of the staff entering her unit to remove her child again:

> They [prison management] come into the hut and as soon as they walked in the door I just grabbed my daughter and said "no no no, she is not going, she is not going." Balled my fuckin eyes out. They said "yes she is, she is going, you have got two hours to pack her stuff." Your sister is on her way down from Invercargill to pick her up." It was 11am when they come in and I had to 1.30pm. They had to take my daughter off me for a wee bit cause I just went "fuck" and I just could not stop crying. Like I was crying that hard and I was that fucked in the head I just wanted to die. I just couldn't breathe. Then I was like "give me my daughter back, give me my daughter back, you know like I have only got two hours." It was fuckin crazy, it was absolutely crazy. My daughter crashed out on the couch. And then, I seen the van pull up just outside the house in the wee cul-de-sac thing and it was her sister. She gave me a big cuddle, and my daughter was still asleep on the couch. She was allowed to stay there for a coffee. Then I had to pick her up and put her in the car, and then she went. The hard thing was that she was asleep in my arms when I put her into the car seat and she just woke up when I shut the door, it was like she just woke up then she

> took off. She did not know what was going on and I don't know if that was a good thing or a bad thing.

Participant's narratives surrounding their child's removal were characterised by helplessness, a loss of parental autonomy and a lack of information. Participants commented that efforts made to maintain connectedness with their removed child were difficult. Appeals that were made meant anxious time waiting with often little communication from prison authorities informing mothers about their children. For example, Kahurangi who had her child removed and subsequently appealed the decision, expected the social worker to visit the day the panel met to inform her of the outcome. However, Kahurangi commented that it was not until the following day after a stressful wait she was informed the meeting had not taken place and was held off for another week. During this time Kahurangi was very concerned about where her child was released, as she had ongoing issues with her immediate family. Kahurangi had to accept further demands from her own mother who stated that if Kahurangi did not have her child returned to her that following week then she would take him home, five hours drive from the prison. This would mean further separation and stress caused in this early stage of mother-child relationship development.

Experiencing the removal of their child was communicated by mothers to be an isolating and painful experience. One participant said how she became "really low and depressed" having to "block it out so I did not go nuts". Emma shared how she "constantly cried" when her child was removed stating "you got no family support, you got no support, you are just on your own". Some sought comfort in other inmates, even those they did not know. Naomi recalls the cell she went into straight after her child was removed:

> I was celled up with a person I didn't even know. So I got to know her, introduced myself to her. Did the room, you know made my bed and stuff and I said to her, "if I wake you up please don't be angry with me, it is only that I need to talk to somebody if I wake up in the middle of the night." A few times during the night I woke up, like crying. And anyway, I spoke to her and I apologised and

> said, “I am sorry for waking you but I just needed to talk to get my baby off my mind.” It was hard and she understood. And then I just had to suck it up and try and forget about it I guess. (Naomi)

Research suggests the wellbeing of the child is affected by the ability of the mother to provide both emotionally and physically. Although accounts illustrated in this chapter so far highlight the trauma experienced through the eyes of the mother with no formal assessments conducted with the children, participants did share stories of the big impact on their children. For example, Emma’s baby was only eight weeks old and exclusively breast fed when she was charged. She received three days in the pound[49], 14 days off privileges, and three-month booth visits. What this meant for her was that for three days, her new born child was picked up by her father at 4.30pm and returned at 9.30am the following day:

> That was actually the worst time ever. That was probably worse than bringing my child back to prison from hospital. That was one of the worst experiences of my life having my baby taken off me. I mean she was only eight weeks old and I was still breastfeeding. She went home for three nights and she struggled. Her father said she would hardly eat and wouldn’t take a bottle as she had only been breastfed. She would cry herself to sleep. It really annoys me that they handled it that way. She wouldn’t take the bottle at home, so most of the night, the three nights that she went out she actually did not have anything because she did not take the bottle. (Emma)

Following Removal

Emma went on as part of her penalty to have non-contact visitation after her child was returned to the MBU. Sitting opposite family in a booth where the child could not touch and family “weren’t allowed to cuddle her or anything” meant Emma

[49] The pound is referred to in prison meaning solitary confinement.

questioned how this was supposed to be her punishment when it was affecting her child developing outside family/whānau relationships. Emma recalls in the following narrative how these restrictions made things extremely difficult for her child:

> Losing her, it mucked everything up with her and her Dad. We still did the Wednesday night visit, but I was not allowed to be there while they had their visit. And she just cried as soon as I left the room. She would cry and there was no way he could settle her. So they would just radio me up as soon as I got back here basically, "oh you better come and pick her up cause she is screaming." I would get back there and she would be red and blotchy and you know just beside herself. And this went on until eventually we said that we should just discontinue these visits until the three-month time is up. And they said "ok we will let you sit in the room." So probably about the last four-five visits I got to sit in the room while they had their visit, so that I was still present. That worked ok. But I mean they missed out on those whole three months you know. Three months, this is a lot. I mean I know she will never remember it but it is something that really gets me. (Emma)

After having their child removed, some mothers felt that asking family members who lived a distance from the prison to bring their child to visit would be financially too difficult. Naomi felt her partner who had her child could not afford to travel to see her, and therefore found the separation and lack of contact difficult, saying "I haven't talked to my daughter lately; my partner has lost his phone so I haven't spoken for about a month but I am trying not to think about this." Additionally, Carrie decided that to have their child return to the prison for visiting after she had been removed, and be unable to touch or physically interact with her, would be too hard and therefore asked her mother not to bring her child to visit:

> I wouldn't let her come here to visit. They punished me by putting me on booth visits which means that I have got to be in a wee room with a screen in front of me so I can't be in contact with

> people. I couldn't bring my daughter and her not be able to touch me. For her sit in a glass window and not be able to grab, it would screw her right? It would screw me up. (Carrie)

Di, who had her child visit her when she was moved to the main wing after the removal, was not restricted to booth visits. However, Di did not have the freedom of movement she had in the MBU. In her visits, Di described her child as being distanced and seemingly not interested in her. The term detachment, first coined by Robertson and Bowlby (1952), refers to this defensive process within a child that treats a mother with whom they have faced a short separation almost like a stranger:

> The visits we go to in this unit, you have gotta stay sitting on your seat. So I don't really get to interact with him when he comes in see me and it has only been a month. The last three visits I have had with him, he has not even wanted to be by me. It is really sad you know "come to mama" and he will just push my hand away or like he doesn't want me to touch him. He won't hug me. Every time that I go to pick him up he starts to cry and he runs to my mum or my dad. I feel like that relationship when we were so tight, it is nothing now. Like going from being with him 24/7, to getting to see him for an hour a week and not even being able to sit down and play with him or anything like that. I am not even allowed to stand up to go and grab him if he runs away or whatever. So the last few visits that I have had have been quite emotional. (Di)

As mothers retold their stories of the removal of their child they frequently cried and were upset. Of utmost concern for mothers was the impact of this removal on their child's development and the potential risks associated with disrupted attachment. Carrie highlighted this common concern of mothers in her account below, raising questions about the long-term impact of this sudden separation:

> Even though she was only 17 months when it all happened, I think her getting taken off me two times is going to have an impact on her. Her rejection side of things you know. One minute I am there, the next minute I am gone. Some of the officers said to me "oh she will be fine, you know she is only young she won't remember it." Doesn't matter if she fuckin remembers it she has experienced it you know so that has got to have some impact on the way she sees life. I live with the fear of her getting taken off me. Almost traumatised and I think a wee bit for her as well. You know she sort of looks, you can see it in her eyes you know when we go somewhere, is she coming with us or am I going and am I going to come back. You know you can just see it in her eyes. (Carrie)

The accounts in this section show the possibility of interrupted attachment, which have the potential to influence the early development of the child. Such possibilities contribute to the competing tensions that have emerged as part of the parenting space in the MBU. Mothers are required to adhere to the terms of the parenting agreement they signed and acknowledge that behaviour that puts their child or the safe functioning of the unit at risk, will result in the removal of their child. However, this is recognised in conjunction with the distress and trauma experienced by a mother when her child is removed from her care, and the potential for this to impact on mother-child relationship development and the future wellbeing of a child.

Summary

Although the setup of New Zealand's MBU facilities are not entirely comparable to other prison nurseries in other parts of the world, the fundamental aims of child-focused units of this nature recognise the importance of securing the mother-child bond in the early stages of life. Prison nurseries endeavour to protect and facilitate the development of this relationship, and therefore they should be more beneficial than they are harmful in protecting the best interests of the child (Hamper, 2014). Prison nurseries have the ability to maintain consistency of care, to enable this attachment and prevent separation while operating within a correctional institution

with competing tensions of security regulations and operational requirements (Gilad & Gat, 2013).

Findings in this chapter illustrate the constant interplay of contradictory forces within an environment set up to nurture and protect the rights and wellbeing of the child. The spatial, temporal and social influences along with practices and procedures within the MBU were highlighted as influencing the mother-child attachment process. The value of time mothers spent with their child meant they felt encouraged to bond and develop a relationship that was favourable to their child's wellbeing. It was argued earlier in this thesis that the Department of Corrections had a responsibility to provide an environment that served the best interests of the child. Having children within the prison requires attention to be paid to areas that can be improved and continually strive towards creating a space to support their development. It must not be a case of simply "housing the infants while their mothers serve their sentences" (Goshin & Byrne, 2009, p.288).

From a child-centred perspective, children's best interests must always be the starting point regarding decisions made that will impact on the relationship of a child and his or her parents (Smith, 2014). The current chapter has provided material that reflects the potential for the environment of the child to have an impact on their early development. However, Sroufe and colleagues (2005) have found that this is not the only influence. Changes such as those of social support and external stressors were also associated with a child's wellbeing. The influence of these changes has significance for the following chapter. This chapter offers stories from mothers as they move from confinement to the community. It explores this change of environment and support systems as participants leave prison and face reintegration. This next chapter will look further into the transition from prison to the community and the characteristics that caused stress and tension, thereby potentially having further effects on the development of the young child (Sroufe et al., 2005).

7. FROM CONFINEMENT TO THE COMMUNITY

Living in the "little bubble" and the Implications of Release

Earlier in this thesis (Chapter Three), echoing Lois (2009), I argued that the dominant western ideology surrounding motherhood conceptualises a good mother as one who offers unconditional love, support, protection and shelter to her child. Through the exploration of participants' stories, I develop the notion of the "mother prison" as a facility that provides for inmates in the same way that a mother is thought to provide for her child (A. Frost, personal communication, July 2nd, 2017). In this way it is suggested that the prison took on the 'motherhood' role in providing structure, security and shelter to the women in the MBU. In the current chapter I discuss the key features of the MBU that appealed to participants. These features often resembled those found in a "home" and that a mother might provide.

To offer the context for this chapter, I followed ten of the original 12 participants after they released from prison. As was discussed in Chapter Four, I was unable to maintain contact and follow up with two of these participants. Of the ten women that were interviewed post-release, this was done at one month and again at between nine and 12 months from the time they left prison. Three of the ten mothers I followed into the community returned to prison within a year of their release. Of these three women, two admitted to intentionally reoffending. A further two participants continued to lead similar lifestyles to what they had led before being incarcerated, continuing with drug use and prostitution. Nonetheless, five participants remained out of prison in the time of this research.

Of interest in this chapter is how mothers' post-release stories illustrated their connectedness with the MBU institution. It became clear that some participants struggled to manage when back in their communities, with most participants

speaking favourably about the support of the prison, the staff and the opportunities afforded to them while inside. Some reactions were particularly emphasised, romanticised and idealised throughout the mothers' transcripts, reflecting on the unit in almost biblical terms as "perfectness" and "my saviour". Despite the issues highlighted in Chapter Five where women struggled to parent in the controlled environment of the MBU, some mothers viewed prison as a place of refuge for them and their child from the demands they faced in their lives outside. Furthermore, this chapter highlights how participants experienced the same environment so differently. More specifically, I look at how some mothers used time within the MBU to focus on themselves, nurture their child, and build relationships and self-worth in anticipation of moving forward in their lives. In comparison, others found the comfort and security of life inside the prison represented a community they felt they belonged to and connected with. This chapter reflects upon participants' stories of their MBU experience and explores how, for some women, prison provided a more favourable living situation than they could find outside.

Connectedness to Confinement

For some individuals, prison may represent the "parent figure" where control is achieved through custodial systems of rules and regulations, some of which may appear infantilising and undermining of personal agency (Clarke, 1995, p.315). Incarceration may provide for inmates in the same way a mother is supposed to provide for her child. Certain participants appeared to develop a sense of dependency and reliance on the "mother prison" when under its arguably parental control. In this way, prisoners were told when to sleep, eat and when to be confined to their units. Distrust accompanied prisoners who were watched, monitored and escorted, similar to the supervision afforded to a toddler from their caregiver or parent figure.

Bosworth (2016) counterintuitively suggests that the prison may even provide a false sense of security for prisoners. This was evident for some mothers in the current study who experienced difficulty adjusting to life after release and struggled without the comfort and safety they found in the routine prison environment. As Crewe

(2009) highlights, some inmates indicated the more restricted and confined they were, the freer they felt. When decisions were made for them and they were told what to do and when to do it, prisoners experienced less responsibility or accountability (Crewe, 2009). Similar to research conducted by Clarke (1995) and Crewe (2009) in the current research the control, structure and routine imposed in prison gave some women relief from the demands of their outside lives. This apparent comfort and developed reliance on the prison appears to contradict the aims of current welfare policies, targeting those in need to become more independent and less reliant on social services (The Treasury, 2017). Furthermore, the appeal of prison for some participants of this research had implications for social development reintegration policy. The "mother prison", as referred to here, may create an environment of developed dependency that undermines the autonomy and self-reliance needed for successful reintegration (Morash & Schram, 2002). The MBU may provide a space to parent within a system where prisoners are essentially parented themselves. It was apparent in this research that those participants who appeared most dependent on the system found a connectedness with both the physical and social aspects of the unit and found for themselves a place to "belong".

Connectedness to the Structure, Shelter and Security in Confinement

Previous chapters highlighted some of the difficulties experienced by participants towards the custodial environment of the MBU. Parental autonomy and privacy were limited, space was confined, and mothers were exposed to aspects of social control. Dependency and powerlessness are reinforced through a routine prison regime subject to rewards and penalties. As explored in Goffman's (1961) idea of prison as a total institution, adherence to routine limits a prisoner's power to make their own decisions. It appeared, however, that for some participants this loss of control over their lives relinquished to an environment of systematic operation was actually appealing. As highlighted in other international research, prison for mothers in this study was as a place offering shelter, routine, comfort, and community and, for some, respite from their lives outside (Clarke, 1995; Ferraro & Moe, 2003). The following accounts highlight the appeal some mothers felt towards this prison system of structure and routine.

The Provision of Structure, Routine and Opportunity: *"I was so good in there like I was like superstar mum" (Nancy)*

Despite the controlled environment of prison, and the ambivalence illustrated in the previous chapter between mother's valuing time spent with their children and feeling "lazy" and "bored", the structure and order of daily life was viewed favourably by most participants. Some mothers indicated that the enforced routine nature of the prison made them better parents. Nancy referred to herself as a "superstar mum" when in the MBU. As highlighted in Chapter Six, being together meant Nancy could be involved and interested in her child's life in ways she might not be able to on the outside. Nancy suggested that when in the community she just had to "grin and bear it" as a parent. Although comments were made about the inconvenience of being unable to simply leave the unit to get something they might need, mothers like Nancy reflected on missing aspects of structured living when they returned to their communities (see also Luther and Gregson, 2011):

> It is just so structured, like I have never been structured on the outside. So I think that is what I miss the most about in there…I miss being organised because now I just go to the shop when I need stuff rather than doing a shop. I was way more organised (Nancy)

Most mothers commented on how establishing a new routine when returning home meant managing a significant change of lifestyle. Emma referred to the difficulty of "trying to find the right routine for this place and this lifestyle". Nancy spent time "trying to work out what I am up to and how I am going to work out here rather than how I had to work in there." Levani's comment below about being nervous on release about facing a change to the prison routine where she was told what to do:

> And so you just get used to it. You know where you are going to be, doing this, going here. So you just sort of sit around waiting to be told what to do, so I guess maybe I don't know it will be interesting. Yeah, I will be excited but a bit nervous. I don't know what to expect on the outside. (Levani)

As discussed in Chapter Six, mothers noted the privilege they felt in having focused and quality time with their children while in the MBU. For many participants this removed them from the stress of busy families and demands of other children, providing a space for mothers to slow down and focus on their youngest child. For Naomi, being in the MBU meant the ability to "spend quality time with my kid", saying it would be different outside with "other kids to tend to". Lexi spoke about how she engaged in activities like swimming and playgroup with her child that she had not done with her firstborn on the outside. Lexi stated that the MBU had "given me more opportunities than I had on the outside". For some mothers this opportunity of time together facilitated a close relationship with their child. Lexi's mother stated that because Lexi was in the MBU it "was more peaceful and she could just concentrate on baby" which Lexi felt contributed to the positive relationship she developed with her child. Prior to reintegration, most mothers expressed concern about being released into the turmoil of their lives outside of prison after time spent in the MBU alone with their child. Tui stated that if she was to return to the "madhouse" of her mum's she would "be back at door 13 at the prison saying please let me back in". Kahurangi also commented about her apprehension of this expected chaos in her account below:

> You know every time I was in prison and would ring back and drama was happening, something was always happening. And always after the phone call I'm thinking, oh fuck I am so glad I am in here, you know, away from it all…You hate the place but at the same time you are comfortable, you know. Yeah, it's weird. (Kahurangi)

In addition to opportunities provided with their children and their chance to be a mother, some participants spoke enthusiastically about the opportunity in prison to gain additional skills. Although there were difficulties highlighted in Chapter Five where mothers found they were unable to take part in a course as they had to care for their child, it was evident there were other opportunities available to the women. Kahurangi spoke enthusiastically about how in the MBU she could "be like a sponge" with the courses offered: "I don't take it as a punishment, I just take it as an

opportunity". Lexi recognised the benefits of having the prison control her finances and manage her expenditure. Lexi admitted she benefitted from this control that prevented unnecessary spending and provided her with facilities that would cost money on the outside. Although Lexi recognised that she was fortunate to have a supportive family outside, she was "anxious" about managing her finances when leaving this security provided when in prison. Furthermore, Naomi commented on the ease of accessing medical provision when in the MBU. Despite the judgment she felt approaching staff when needing attention for her child, Naomi explained "you just went up to the officers, then they would organise the trip, organise the vehicle, organise everything and it's done that day." Participants frequently spoke about the possible alternative they may have faced if unable to have their child remain with them. I made journal notes about participants whose "eyes became teary" when they thought about the alternative of separation. Mothers said if they had not remained together with their child this would have "destroyed" them; they would have "gone off the rails" or become "a lost soul". Mothers were certain they would have been involved in more crime and served more prison time. Emma made the comment "I don't think I could have done it without her [baby]", and like other mothers, expressed her gratefulness in being part of the programme.

The managed environment of the "mother prison" essentially removed adult responsibilities from inmates. Because of this, inmates such as Nancy post-release referred to "days when you are just wanting to go back to jail cause you just want to know that your rent is paid, your power is paid, there is food and you go shopping on Sunday." Kahurangi reflected on the limited responsibilities she felt she had when in the MBU stating: "not dealing with or worrying about the rent, not getting places, just looking after [child], there was nothing else." The MBU provided more than the opportunity for a mother and child to be together, but also a structured, supported and routine environment that made the lives of some mothers easier as they managed parenting responsibilities without other demands in life. This level of provision experienced in the therapeutic milieu of the MBU, described earlier as the "bubble", was quite different to the struggles some mothers faced in their lives back in the community.

The Provision of Shelter: *"That place was a bloody holiday camp" (Kate)*

Most participants commented that the facilities they were provided with and what was required from them when in the MBU was in stark contrast to what they faced in their lives on the outside. This echoed the comments of a participant in the research conducted by Elliott-Hohepa and Hungerford (2013). Some participants referred to the ease of life in the MBU as a "joke". In terms of provision, Nancy stated, "I got everything handed to me on a platter just because I had a kid". Some mothers commented that the MBU was "too nice" declaring they would not be able to provide these facilities for their children outside of the prison. Kahurangi referred to being "shocked" when she saw that the unit was like a "motel" and compared it to living in a "good flat with a couple of girls". Kahurangi did add that she would have preferred the unit to reflect more of their lives in the community, recognising that "none of them came from this sort of living and that none of them were going back to this either". Leaving the provision and shelter of the MBU was referred to as a significantly difficult time by most mothers. Kate reflected this, even after re-joining her family home with her partner and children, securing a job and appearing to do well in the community. She commented that the MBU "was a bloody holiday camp, it really was in all honesty", and that if she had no dependent children outside of the prison, she would have been happy to stay in the MBU.

Nancy's reaction when she arrived at the accommodation provided for her through Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society (PARS) illustrated the comparison between the provision of the MBU and her place to stay on release.[50] Nancy's first thought was to return to prison and she spoke about the "bubble" of the institution. This metaphor reflected the created environment and almost surreal experience that existed within this confined community 'bubble'. This bubble may appear to burst as mothers were released and were hit with the reality of their lives outside. To a certain extent, I also experienced a sense of the attraction to this confined space, and unconsciously reflected this in a journal entry that I only recognised when

[50] Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society provides services to assist prisoners, ex-prisoners and their whānau, supporting them with access to essential services to assist them as they reintegrate back into their community (https://www.pars.co.nz/).

returning to these notes at the time of my analysis. When visiting Nancy in the community, I made the following entry: “Walking into the house, it was weird. I felt lonely for Nancy, in this foreign cold place with just her and her child. It was such a change from the warm and safe prison surrounds where there were people and activity.” From Nancy’s point of view, the following transcript reflects how she felt freer when in prison, an idea previously raised by Crewe (2009):

> I feel like I sorta am in jail now. I think I miss it a little bit. It is like your little bubble, and nothing else happens, it is just in the bubble. Yeah, and now it just feels a bit backwards I suppose. I don’t know what it is, it is weird. I mean, it is like I actually wanted to turn the car around and go straight back to jail when I seen this house. I just wanted to die. I am like oh my god I don’t want to live here. It is fuckin horrible, I hate it. It stinks, it is damp, I am continuously trying to get the smell out and it is just like a mouldy hell hole. I was like jail is so much nicer and prettier and it is all new carpet and nice walls. And if stuff breaks people fix it for you. (Nancy)

The Provision of Security behind the “Wire”

Certain participants’ stories suggested they found it safer and more secure when in prison, removed from the reality of what they faced in their lives outside. While prison ensured containment of offenders from the public, this ultimately provided some mothers with a sense of protection found in that confinement. Hine commented on aspects of being restricted in the secure prison facility that provided her with comfort, contrasting this with her post-release accommodation in the community:

> At nights whenever I hear a noise I have to look out the window, cause it...I am so glad it has got a big fence cause I can’t imagine not having it. But it’s like, in prison, you have got these big wires that nobody is going to climb over to come get you. And cause I always have had weird things, like going to the toilet in the night, I

> have to turn all the lights on and I can't turn them off on the way back to bed, and now I have gone back to doing it, which kind of annoys me, cause I didn't do it in jail. It is just silly stuff. (Hine)

Social Connectedness to Confinement

In this chapter so far, I have reported accounts that illustrate how participants favoured the confined and controlled prison environment in that it offered them structure, routine, shelter and safety. In addition to this, a certain connectedness was found to social aspects of the prison setting through mothers' relationships with staff and the development of their own "prison families". Although Chapter Five highlighted the issues mothers experienced in managing the dual role held by the officers and aspects of living in close confinements, in the following section some mothers illustrate the favourable relationships they developed within the MBU.

Staff Connectedness: *"Some girls call them their "case mummy's" (Kate)*

Although mothers referred to the burden of responsibility of being the sole parent while in prison, officers and other staff were at times referred to as a source of support. I reported this extensively in Chapter Five, where dynamics of power and control were discussed alongside discussion of the unit enabling unique positive relationships to develop between mothers and staff. Kate spoke of the rapport and apparent dependence she recognised in some prisoners who referred to officers as their "case mummies". This way of relating to officers perhaps reinforced the previously highlighted infantilising notion of the system where prisoners within the "mother prison" experienced restrictions similar to that of a child. This arrangement further highlighted the social-psychological dynamic of this dependency (Clarke, 1995).

For one participant in particular, who had no family support, advice from staff appeared to be accepted as unconditional and she spoke highly of their guidance. Despite the value previously discussed in the unique role of the officer within the MBU, this may also raise questions of the ethically acceptable boundaries of this officer-prisoner relationship of support, advice and interest. Hine illustrates below

the potential of this relationship with officers to be represented as one of "love" potentially crossing professional lines in the eyes of an individual who is alone, isolated and vulnerable:

> It was good; it was always good cause there was always help at the press of a button. Like always help if something was wrong cause being a first-time mum I always thought something was wrong. And there was always help. Like me being on the outside with my daughter is a lot harder than in here, cause in here I have built bonds with staff members. I have got like real bad trust issues. I don't trust many people. So it is good to be in here as a first-time mum, get all the help that you need, and don't have to pay bills or anything. It is just like, you are around officers that had been mothers before, you can learn off them, just so many loving people, like so much loving vibes around you. Rather than on the outside, it is like no-ones there. So its way easier in here than what it is out there. (Hine)

Kahurangi recalled the time she returned to prison without her son having had him removed after giving birth. When her child was unexpectedly returned to her the following day, Kahurangi expressed how grateful she was to prison management who, as understood by Kahurangi, facilitated her child's return. Although Kahurangi previously questioned the justification and fairness around the trauma experienced when her baby was removed from her in hospital, her story below related to me in prison after the return of her baby reflected an overwhelming thankfulness to those senior staff. In the excerpt below, Kahurangi recalled her conversation with prison management when she returned to prison from the hospital, without her baby.

> I think from there we [refers to prison manager] have had that sparkle, that connection. Cause what she did do was she put her hand out and she goes "you know I said I was going to help you Kahurangi" and I said "yes", and she said "just go back and have a rest and we will see what happens tomorrow". She asked if I had

> baby bonding tomorrow and I said "yes" and then she goes "we will see what happens". So you know, the next day I had baby bonding, and that's when they come in and that is when I got given son. So you know we have had that connection from there. (Kahurangi)

Inmate Connectedness: *"Blood makes you related but loyalty makes you family, and the people that love me are in jail" (Hine)*

Crewe (2009) writes of the "structural solidarity" that may be experienced through the shared circumstances of those imprisoned (p.301). Involvement in the prison environment is inevitably a communal experience where relationships and alliances develop (Moran et al., 2013). Relationships between women in prison can be characterised as both manipulative while also providing strong friendships of trust (Freitas et al., 2016; Greer, 2000). The living environment inside prison may act like a social microcosm reflecting the dynamics of family life found outside (Oleinik, 2003). A sense of shared purpose develops bonds that may resemble family type relationships, where prisoners refer to each other as "aunty" or "sister" (Clarke, 1995). Close relationships between prisoners are found to establish significant bonds where they may become "attuned to each other's moods and emotional rhythms" (Crewe, 2009, p.333). Sophie Goldingay (2007) found increased emotional wellbeing to be a consequence of these family type relationships with young women in prison. Goldingay found some prisoners felt "understood, supported and nurtured" by older mother type figures with whom they had developed a relationship (2007, p.38).

Although Chapter Five illustrated how living in this close confinement of the MBU encouraged competition and comparison, many participants also favoured this community dynamic. For some women, this close association with others was intense and reflected in the depth of the language they used to describe this relationship. Individuals within the prison appeared to serve as substitute family members, particularly for participants who lacked family support outside and came from lives characterised by chaos and stress. Participants used the words aunties, sisters and mothers to emphasise the strength of their relationships with other prisoners. Kahurangi who remained in contact with another mother after release,

referred to her as the person who helped her emotionally and financially when her own mum "couldn't give two shits". Nancy indicated that when at home her daughter received more birthday cards from prisoners than anyone outside. In the following excerpt, Aroha talks about her relationship with her roommate in the MBU and how both she and her child referred to them as "sisters":

> I have been here my whole time in this unit with [friend], and our kids have grown up like sisters and so like we are really close now. The hardest thing is going be leaving her here. And our kids they call each other sister, just like me and her we call each other sister. She is my sister for life. She has helped me to understand, and she knows everything about me now. (Aroha)

Naomi, who completed several previous sentences, indicated that when needed she would look for support from those inmates she had known before. Naomi spoke about her connection with these women in a way that reflected admiration and respect:

> I would ask one of the lifers, one of the girls who are doing life in prison. Because they have got a good mind and they know how to sort of like deal with the system in a polite way. Because I knew them from my other lags that I did inside. So they knew me from way back, and we just have that connection and talk about things like that. So we were on the same level. Because they were so well educated that you know I could just pick their brains and just learn something new. (Naomi)

Hine was one participant who spoke about particularly intense connections she made with others, including those not directly involved in the prison. For example, Hine reflected on hospital staff before the birth of her child commenting, "I made heaps of friends in there like all the midwives, they were all my friends and support people". Hine lacked family outside and had no significant supports, indicating at one point that she had no-one else to call and that "the only person I ring is really

the 0800 number", referring to the state child protection service. For Hine, this desire to feel a sense of belonging to a "loyal" family was what appeared to draw her back to prison after her release:

> My dad disowns me because I am in jail, and my mum's away. I don't have family like they are not my family. My family is in jail. I have learnt in here that loyalty makes you family. Cause that's what it feels like, it feels like my home is here. It is only because I am loved in here and supported and you know whatever I am going through; there is always a shoulder to cry on. When out there, that's why I kept coming back, I can't stand on my own two feet out there with my child. It is too hard; I have got no support, no nothing. I just can't do it… I have found my family in this jail. I've went and picked my own family because I feel that my real family has let me down all my life…People say that jail people are bad people and don't hang out with them, yet I have actually made two aunties in here and two sisters. People that I can just turn to and talk to about anything and they don't say anything. Like if I get bullied in the wing, they just stand up for me. I don't expect this but they are family like, this is my family in here. If I had my daughter back in here then I would stay in here for the rest of my life, but I gotta get out to my daughter. It is sad but it is just how I feel. (Hine)

The appeal of a sense of belonging to family when in prison, has been illustrated through particular participants' stories throughout this chapter. Prior to this, accounts from some mothers illustrated how the structure, shelter and security provided by the prison were viewed favourably. Although mothers were aware of the benefits of being in the MBU, most mothers viewed this as a privilege and expressed their gratitude for this opportunity. However, for some this experience of perceived support, security, routine and in some cases self-appointed family members was in complete contrast to what they faced on release. It would appear that this group of mothers, who connected unquestioningly with the MBU

environment and the prison community, were a particularly vulnerable group with limited family support and a diminished sense of belonging. From this research, it appeared to be these more isolated women who were attracted to and ultimately developed a dependence on the provision of the system and any relationships the MBU offered.

There are several theories that would support this developed dependency by some on the prison system. The concept of adult attachment styles was introduced in Chapter Two and again in Chapter Six, presenting an aspect of attachment that may explain this differential response of participants. This idea suggests that early experiences influence personality development and an individual's social behaviour (Belsky et al., 2012; Rholes et al., 1995; Simpson et al., 2012). Individuals with insecure attachment styles become significantly captivated in seeking out features of belonging (Rholes et al., 1995). The implications of this may mean the MBU serves to fulfil the needs of certain individuals predisposed to this style of attachment. Aspects of the MBU equally satisfy elements proposed by Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943, 1954).[51] Some participants' accounts highlighted how the MBU fulfilled their physiological wellbeing, sense of safety and security, and their need for feelings of belonging and love, thereby satisfying the first three tiers in Maslow's pyramid of human needs. Te Whare Tapa Wha previously referred to in Chapter Five, brings Māori philosophy into a holistic model of wellness (Durie, 1985, 2011). This model illustrates health through four fundamental beliefs; Te Taha Whānau (family health), Te Taha Hinengaro (psychological health), Te Taha Wairua (spiritual health) and Te Taha Tinana (physical health) (Durie, 1985, 2011). Some research participants referred to a sense of increased wellbeing when they felt connected to their "prison family". Furthermore, Carrie commented that it was in prison where she was able to readily access the care she needed for her physical and psychological health, that she found not available to her on the outside.

[51] Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a psychological theory of human motivation. Maslow illustrates these five human needs as physiological, safety, love/belonging, esteem and self-actualization organized in a triangle representing the more basic physiological requirements at the bottom. Maslow posits that each level must be satisfied to move onto the next, understanding the drive and motivation to ultimately achieve self-actualization.

Many of these women came from environments where they were dependent on partners or the welfare system, with prison an extension of this relationship of dependency. As previously highlighted in this chapter, participants returned to prison to seek a sense of belonging, safety, security, shelter and even to be surrounded by a family. This has significant implications and raises questions about the adequacy of welfare provision and reintegration policy. Individuals intentionally returning to prison contradict the aims of the current criminal justice programmes—to rehabilitate and resource individuals while in prison so that they are able to go on to lead independent lives in the community after release. The following section goes on to present accounts of participants' experiences as they leave the provision of the "mother prison" that ultimately provided some with a place to call "home".

Post-release: Moving from the Connectedness Found in Prison

Luther and Gregson (2011) highlight how moving from an environment of supervised and restricted mothering to one of complete autonomy is difficult. Addressed in the previous section were aspects of connectedness some of the mothers found as favourable features of the prison environment. Raising children in the confinement of prison also appeared to present challenges to parenting on the outside, when moving from a confined and restricted place within which to mother, to one of complete autonomy (Luther and Gregson, 2011). Additional burdens are placed on released mothers whose demands are consistently overwhelming (Ferraro & Moe, 2003). The following section looks at a mother's transition from confinement to the community. Despite some participants releasing to supportive family environments, most mothers stories illustrated being overwhelmed when moving from the secure and routine prison environment, to the demands of the outside world. Most mothers spoke of experiencing a lack of support bridging them from the MBU to their homes. They felt overcommitted with family and agency obligations and experienced the strain of judgments, stigma and continued surveillance as they returned to their communities.

Overwhelmed: "Take one day at a time" (Levani)

The challenge of transitioning from a secure and closed environment to the wider community was experienced as overwhelming by most participants. This feeling appeared related to the sudden increase in the pace of life on release. Naomi illustrates how "getting out was overwhelming cause everything just happened so fast". One mother had a caseworker that cautioned her to "take it easy" and "take things slowly". Levani took advice from her partner to "just do little things and not rush into too much". When Levani was overwhelmed and stressed by the demands of life outside, she spoke about finding a "comfort zone" in the corner of her bedroom to go with her child and close the door. In this space Levani explained, "I was safe, we were just in our room, just safe and secure."

Family obligations and commitments were found to add further demands. Kate attended a family barbecue event on the day of her release and on reflection admitted that was "too much". Kate said she felt overwhelmed and asked herself "how am I going to cope with this?" With the support of her husband, Levani decided to take herself out of the many cultural events that her Pasifika community expected of her, to focus on herself and her family. Levani felt these family engagements would add additional stress at a vulnerable stage of her life. The necessity of appointments, arrangements and childcare to start to function back in the community were significant for all participants. Kate, who spoke confidently about her release indicating that she had a job, a home, a supportive family and her kids all together, highlighted the difficulties she experienced with the demands of appointments to arrange her driver's licence, birth certificate, bank account and WINZ payments. Kate stated, "you don't actually realise how busy it is till you actually do it and you are like wow, it really is busy." Aroha's experience of feeling overwhelmed made her feel like she wanted to return to being just her and her child:

> I had WINZ straight after and WINZ the next day and the next day, I just had a lot of things come up. I had it going so hard and fast, you know. My appointment was the very next day in the morning. So I

> didn't really get time with my kids. But it was something that you have to do otherwise I would have had no support. I said to my partner, "I just feel like this is too much, it is overwhelming." It was real hard. I broke down a few times. Just wanted it to be me and my child. (Aroha)

Aroha was reimprisoned within the first year. By her own account the demands placed on her on post-release were overwhelming and she felt these contributed to her return to prison. Stories of institutional dependency similarly emerged from Hine and Naomi who reported they were unable to cope on the outside. Both mothers intentionally breached parole to return to prison within a year of their release. They spoke enthusiastically about their decision to return to the place where they found shelter, routine, security, and had discovered their own "prison family". For example, Naomi said:

> I felt that I had to come here to bring myself back and to look at the realisation of everything. That time away, that break from society, from the outside world, I felt that I needed it. It sounds sad but in saying that it just helped me, sort of keep myself on track. Number ten, this is my tenth time. I felt that I needed to come back in, to sort my head out. Sort myself out, yeah. Yeah, this place is a safe haven, it is like yeah, my safe spot. (Naomi)

When reincarcerated after a brief period of release, Aroha reflected on her experience, commenting "when I get out I will change things by not doing everything all at once". Naomi similarly stated "I have heaps I wanna do but I gotta remind myself one step at a time". Furthermore, Naomi placed value on heading straight into Home Detention after release, recognising this forced her to take things slowly by remaining at home. The stories in this section appeared to illustrate both the result of increased demands on release and, for some, the appeal of the predictable environment of the "mother prison" as previously discussed.

Probation and Agency Commitments

Probation-type support was deemed by Barry (2013) to be a significant indicator in reducing or preventing recidivism. Barry (2013) specifically draws attention to the continuity, consistency and quality of the relationship between probation officer and offender. Nancy referred to being "lucky" to have a good relationship with her parole officer as in the past she had "never had a good one". However, few women in this research referred to probation favourably. Mothers' stories communicated how the demands felt from probation post-release, in their requirements and commitments, caused significant stress. Naomi referred to her release conditions as "quite a bit", adding to this the fact she had to organise her children around these extra demands:

> Being still on probation, reporting, counselling, doing my parenting programmes that was quite a bit. Plus looking after the kids. I had to go halfway across town just to go to one place for like five or ten min. And that's it. So I think I caught four buses to the other side of town, to get where I had to go for counselling. Plus dragging the kids with me, yeah it was heaps. (Naomi)

Levani recognised how probation commitments could be financially and logistically difficult for those women without support. Kate shared how probation required her to travel some distance every fortnight to attend her maintenance course for Kowhiritanga. Additionally, Kate had other probation appointments and obligations while managing three children and full-time work. Kate ended up having to give up the social sporting activities she enjoyed, to accommodate the range of demands expected of her. At one point, Kate said that she felt this stress was too much and negotiated to do her last maintenance visit over the phone. This was to save her the difficult task of coordinating the journey, petrol cost, childcare and time she had to take off work to make this appointment. However, as the following account illustrates, organising this was problematic and ended stressfully for Kate, with the threat of a recall:

> So she agreed to phone maintenance. Then first of all I said it has to be after 2.30pm. They wouldn't do it after 2.30pm and refused to note I finish work then. So I said well I can't do an hour, only for half an hour break. So I would have to do half an hour on my break or not at all. So she agreed to half an hour at 10 am on the Tuesday morning. So Tuesday morning she rung, at two minutes to ten. She rung once. We are not allowed our phones on us at work. She rung once, only once, at two minutes to. Not at ten or after, my breaks at ten. You get paid up until then, so I didn't answer. She didn't ring back and she discharged me and said that I had not completed the maintenance. My biggest thing that got me in prison was my financial issues. I sold that shit to make money, and they want me to take time off work. So I lose money, so I get behind in my bills, so what do I do then? Seriously, are you just trying to lead me down the same path again? Cause that's what it looks like to me, cause I am not taking time off work for ya... I said "what will happen", she said "ah well I am not sure." I said "will I get recalled" she said "I am not sure." So she could not even tell me if sometime over the next couple of days some policemen were going to come and knock on my door and arrest me. I got flippin two kids at home so of course I am thinking "oh my god." I was panicking. (Kate)

Bridging Supports

Almost all participants experienced limited support from community agencies when leaving prison. Mothers' stories highlighted how they felt left alone to cope, stating that after prison there was "nothing" and that "they literally just kick you out at the gate". Aroha added, "It was here is your card you are going home, see ya, bye". Hine felt that in moving from what she experienced as a supportive environment to one where she was on her own felt like she was "set up to fail":

> I didn't know anyone. I was struggling like they let me out. They let me out from a secure place, like all the help. Then they let me out

> and I didn't have that help. Like all the supports that got put into place they just…like I'll be honest I couldn't stand on my own two feet out there with my daughter. I couldn't do it. Like I was a new mum, being in prison, having help and then let out in somewhere I don't know. Just the support at the button I guess, just someone to talk to. (Hine)

Most mothers indicated that issues around leaving prison and the potential obstacles faced on release were not addressed with participants prior to leaving prison. However, the importance of addressing these issues became clear when Kahurangi acknowledged that these were the "things that sort of make me frightened". Levani said she felt that the prison and community corrections were operating like different departments, saying that "they both belong under the same umbrella, but they worked totally separately". The many stories participants shared of feeling unprepared and unsupported during release highlighted the need for preparation in this area, so mothers could better navigate this transition. Once in the community, contact from many of the expected support systems never materialised unless mothers actively pursued agencies. Naomi said she felt disregarded when experiencing repeated difficulties trying to re-connect with her children after her time in prison. For Naomi, this meant returning to an abusive relationship stating, "I found that it was the only way to get contact with my kids properly." Kate recognised in her account below that making contact with an agency with regards to budgeting advice was a priority as not managing financially was how Kate ended up in prison. However, not all mothers recognised their own needs or were able to be proactive and make contact with agencies themselves:

> [Agency name] are supposed to have rung me about the budgeting advice and parenting course. But I have not heard a single word from them for the whole month I have been home, so I ended up ringing budget advice myself because that is something that is an issue for me. That is what took me to prison in the first place, being my inability to budget well. So I got in touch with budget advice myself. Nobody rang me. CADS, I rung myself, community alcohol

> and drug service. I rung them and I said look, these are my conditions, you were supposed to contact me, and he said "oh yeah I have got a note here on my desk but I have not got round to it." The prison sort of just kicked me out and left me to it. I don't know if that is how it is supposed to be or if someone is just being slack? (Kate)

Mothers who connected to a community agency prior to release spoke about the benefits of this and how it positively shaped their experience. Lexi had an agency involved before her incarceration, who continued with her child and family on the outside. According to Lexi, they were "absolutely wonderful" at maintaining contact between herself and her child through sending letters, drawings and photos. This same person continued to be involved with Lexi when she was released, providing that continuity of care. Lexi spoke about the value of this already established relationship in supporting her, her child and her family through this reintegration period. Levani also agreed to visits from an agency when she was in the MBU. Their aim was to support her while inside and be available to assist with reintegration. According to Levani, this agency volunteered their service while mothers were in prison, but that she was the only woman at the time of our interview that took advantage of this provision.

Levani remarked on the value of this consistent contact that was established pre-release and continued into the community. Although Levani went from ARWCF to another city, this agency was effective in transitioning her to their service in Levani's hometown:

> And then I got introduced to a group called [agency name]. They worked with me throughout prison, and I was the only one that they come and visited in the prison, cause I was the only one that wanted to work with them. I am glad I did, cause they are the ones that are helping me now. From [agency name] in Auckland, they transferred my file to [agency name] here. (Levani)

Judgment, stigma, secrecy, and surveillance

According to Pinard and Thompson (2006), released mothers experience social exclusions relegating them to the margins of society where they are at risk of returning to past, unhelpful behaviours. Byrne and colleagues (2010) found mothers' experience of securing employment, accommodation, agency support and childcare when released was difficult as they continued to live with the label of "ex-criminal". Many participants in this research shared concerns about being evaluated by others when they returned to their communities. Carrie felt judged by comments she experienced, such as "I would never ever take my child to prison, I think that is wrong." Levani said that in the first two weeks she "cried a lot because there are so many people that just label you". Kate admitted she thought returning to her community would be hard and that she would stay home for a while and wait for "the small-town gossip session to pass". Kate laughed about the fact that when she went to prison her story was featured on the front of the newspaper; Kate commented how this should now be old news "wrapped around someone's fish and chips".

Notions of stigma, stereotypes, labelling and shame were addressed in Chapter Three, and all have relevance in this section. Scrutiny and judgments were an inevitable consequence of most participants release stories and appeared to influence the experiences of women re-entering the community. Compounding experiences of stigma when securing housing, employment, and benefits were evident in most mothers' accounts. More specifically, women spoke of feeling judged when becoming re-involved with school, preschool and their community. This made getting back into their lives challenging where some women felt they were serving their sentence again when in the community. For instance, Nancy felt judged when accessing welfare assistance, resulting in her returning to prostitution. In this job, Nancy knew she could make the money she needed to support her child. Nancy's story illustrates the stigma associated with the use of social services that is recognised in current government policy as a barrier for those who need to access vital support (New Zealand Labour Party, 2017a). Nancy highlights below her experience of this stigma:

> I went to the food bank because they fucked up my benefit heaps, and they are like you got one last week and I was like "yeah because they fucked up my benefit two weeks in a row" and they were like "oh dah dah dah" and I was like "you know what, just fuckin keep it, I fuckin hate asking for anything so you know what just keep your fuckin shit, I will go back to work and get it." You know cause I was trying to quit working, so I just went back to work, fuck that. And then I never asked for nothing again. (Nancy)

In addition to themselves, mothers were concerned about their children being exposed to the same judgments and opinions from others in the community. Available literature focuses on the stigmatising effects on the child who has a parent in prison (Murray & Murray, 2010; Poehlmann, 2005b), including New Zealand-based research by Gordon (2009). However, there is little if no research addressing children's experiences of stigma and judgment after being born or spending their early years in prison. Dwyer (2014) believes the polarising consequences experienced from having a parent inside the prison are no less severe for a child living inside the prison. Mothers in this research had concerns about their child being "labelled" and "teased", even before they could understand where they were born. Nancy shared concerns about the effect of these judgments, making it clear she wanted her child to be "normal" and not "with a dodgy jail mum where other parents whisper". Kate spoke about returning to her small town and being apprehensive about using the same day-care her older children had attended, worried her child would be made to feel uncomfortable. However, Kate's early apprehension appeared unwarranted as she added that "most people were really good".

To escape community opinion, some participants wanted to move from their homes and their neighbourhoods "to where I don't know nobody, just to start fresh". Naomi felt moving away from old associates to where she knew nobody, would be how she might manage a new beginning, commenting "I need to move away from here to be able to do that". Alternatively, some participants and their families decided to keep their prison stay a secret to avoid judgment. Emma's partner spoke

about how he kept the secret of his partner and child being in prison, adding when people asked where they were, “it is not really that hard to put someone off for ten months”. Lexi’s mother encouraged her not to tell anyone about her time in prison. However, Lexi found that this was difficult at her playgroup and when making new friends she was undecided as to whether this was the best approach:

> I haven’t told any of my new friends about prison. Yeah but I mean it feels really stink sometimes because I think how stink will she feel when she finds out from someone else. I have been contemplating whether I should or not but I don’t want her opinion or anything to change, you know. I think that she knows lots of people that I do and I think that she will find out one day, so I don’t know whether I should tell her or not. (Lexi)

Mothers spoke about facing significant judgment from others when securing accommodation. When released, Levani was unable to stay with her eldest son as according to her, their landlord said she “does not like any criminals whatsoever to live in that house”. Levani commented that in applying for housing she continued to experience barriers. However, she always disclosed her criminal background when meeting new landlords. Levani said how she would “take my reports and if they want to they can read how I have progressed”. Kate experienced similar difficulties when trying to rent a property in her small community:

> It is quite hard to sort of find someone that would be ok with renting me their house. I have been looking. There is this one guy here, he is a property manager, he has the monopoly of most of the houses around here and he is not prepared to rent to me. I have rung him and he has said he would get back to me and he never did. Finding a house has proven to be difficult, people, small town and stuff like that. Everybody knowing who I am and what I have done, so it is trying to find someone that is prepared to give me a chance, that’s tricky. (Kate)

Foucault's (1977) ideas around surveillance as a mechanism of control (Chapter Three), where power and influence operate in the absence of any direct authority, appeared to also be a feature for participants when in the community. Participants reported feelings of increased surveillance upon release and constant anxiety around being "caught out" and returned to prison. In addition to the threat of reimprisonment playing a part in managing individuals' behaviour, it caused mothers significant stress in the early stages of release. Carrie, whose story of having her child removed when in prison was illustrated in Chapter Six, goes further to talk about her experience of "fear" when in the community:

> It is just the paranoia and anxiety about my daughter getting taken off me all the time. Yeah, it is almost like I am just waiting for it to happen. You know like, and that is my biggest fear. I get so, like I sit there at night and just think about it you know, and it just really works me up and I get so nervous about it. Scared. (Carrie)

Guilt

A significant finding of this research was the guilt mothers said they experienced when making the decision to have their child remain with them in prison. Although this guilt was felt while in prison, it was also particularly prevalent on a mother's release when dealing with the implications for their child in having spent their early life inside, and when faced with decisions around telling their child about where they were born and raised. Research suggests a mother's decision to have her child remain in prison is based on either prioritising the welfare of their child or prioritising their own needs, despite in some cases believing this to be a disadvantage to the baby (Freitas et al., 2016). One of the motivators for participants deciding to remain together was to maintain physical contact (Eloff & Moen, 2003). Participants of this research commented on children providing them with a sense of "comfort", where the child "sort of fills the gap a bit". A priority for mothers in being together was in their ability to keep their child safe. Furthermore, mothers recognised the importance of attachment and the development of emotional connections associated with bonding (Freitas et al., 2016). Levani remarked that

“bonding and having him here with me, I think it was the right thing to do”. Kahurangi attributed her child remaining with her in prison as contributing to her success, stating “just that connection there helped me get back on my feet”. In addition, participants referred to their children alleviating boredom, increasing their wellbeing, providing company and easing their experience by offering emotional support (Freitas et al., 2016; Poehlmann, 2005a). Alternatively, some participants reported it to be detrimental to the child to remain in prison, and arguably acted in their own self-interests when deciding this for their child (Freitas et al., 2016; Smith, 2014). For example, Naomi said she did not favour the idea of keeping her child with her but admitted that it “just made my lag easier”.

Regardless of the motivation behind mothers’ decision to have their child remain with them in prison, many participants faced criticisms and judgments from others that resulted in ongoing personal negotiations. Studies show “mothers in prison suffer from self-blame and guilt, which can result in a much harder sentence and endanger their mental and personal stability” (Feintuch, 2013, p.49). Most participants referred to the guilt experienced as coming mostly from worries about the potential implications for their child from being raised in the prison. Mothers were also concerned about the impact of their child developing relationships with family/whānau outside. Although these feelings also included worries about the effect of their incarceration on their wider whānau and outside community, most participants shared feelings of blame and failure in their responsibilities as a mother. There is little in the literature addressing these particular feelings of guilt experienced by a mother who decides to take her child to prison. Furthermore, participants indicated it was never raised in any conversations they had with any professionals or prison social workers that were involved. However, this guilt they experienced was spoken about by most mothers as particularly significant, as the following account illustrates. Carrie commented her child was “bound to have these issues that I never ever wanted her to have”. Nancy felt guilty for robbing her daughter of a childhood and had serious concerns she would not be “normal”. Like some of the mothers, Nancy shared how she began to attribute everything that happened as a result of being incarcerated:

> I just want for her to be normal. I think it is just going to be part of her built-in-ness. It is just going to be built into her, like institutionalisedness and that it will be easy for her to come back……. Just all the things that she has been deprived of that might make her not normal. Cause I can always blame this. I will always go, "is it because she was in jail?" You know, if she is like petrified of dogs for the rest of her life or she grows up and she gets you know that thing where they can't leave the house. You know all these things I will somehow be able to turn around and blame myself for that I had her in here. There will always be some way that I can twist it in my mind to make it my fault. And maybe it will be, I will never know. (Nancy)

When released with her child Nancy equally suggested she felt "mean taking her away from all she knows". Nancy recognised prison was the only place her child had known in her two years and where she knew her child was happy. Nancy's response to people's praise about leaving prison highlighted her feelings of guilt, stating "you guys are dumb, she is home, she's lived here her whole life and I am about to destroy her life." As a result of feeling this guilt, some participants were found to compensate by overinvesting in their children. Mothers said that they wanted to buy them everything to make up for what they missed out on, making comments like "I just feel like I owe her heaps from what she didn't get" after their time spent inside. The responsibility of this decision and subsequent guilt felt by mothers was made worse when women went against the wishes of their family. Tui's mum told her "jail is no place for kids", and Aroha's partner referred to her as "selfish". Naomi's family suggested that she should give her child to one of her cousins, as they did not support her decision. Mothers shared the guilt they felt over the stress they believed they were causing their own parents, who often had the financial and emotional strain of extra caregiving responsibilities and embarrassment of their child's imprisonment.

In deciding to have their child remain with them in prison, this meant separating the baby from family and friends. Because MBUs at the time of this research, were only

located in Auckland and Christchurch, the units were often some distance from participants' homes resulting in few or sometimes no visitors. Mothers commented how they felt guilty in making a decision that prevented their children outside from having daily involvement with their new sibling (Codd, 2008). Kate's narrative highlights the guilt mothers felt when making decisions that potentially divided their families:

> Like them missing out on seeing their little brother grow up, him missing out on seeing [siblings] grow up. Being away from them, missing out on birthdays, you know Christmas and stuff like that with my kids. And sitting there realising or knowing that it was my own fault. Like I caused it, I did it, I had other choices, there was other things I could have done, and I didn't. (Kate)

Some women found themselves unable to maintain these family connections and spoke of experiencing guilt and hopelessness associated with this. When participants' children were in the custody of someone else, this could mean arrangements for visiting could be difficult and contact with those children was compromised. Furthermore, some mothers spoke about being unable to afford phone cards to call home. Previous chapters highlighted how visits were opportunities for siblings to be together and for much needed time for the mother to be with her other children. However, when these were over and mothers had to return to the unit, this inevitable separation of the child and their family reaffirmed for mothers the guilt they felt in this situation and a mix of emotions were experienced. Participants experienced anguish knowing their children on the outside would grieve as a result of this separation. As highlighted in existing research, mothers also had to manage the loss of having the immediate care of these children (Codd, 2008). Kate spoke about the hurt and trauma she experienced in "having no control over what's happening with my children". To compensate for this, Kate used most of her wage from a cleaning job she secured within the MBU to buy two chocolate bars a week to send home to her children.

What do I tell my child?

In addition to dealing with the guilt surrounding their decision to have their child remain in prison, participants also lacked guidance around how to tell their child about where they were born. Most, if not all, of the research addressing disclosing aspects of parental incarceration focuses on children of imprisoned parents rather than those born in prison. For example, King (2002) completed research on the effects of parental imprisonment on children who had a parent at Mountjoy Prison Complex in Dublin, Ireland. This study included an analysis of what children of prisoners were told about their parent's incarceration, with 61.5 percent of prisoners indicating that their children were unaware they had been imprisoned. Robertson (2012) recommended in a report for the Quaker United Nations Office that children should be told of their parent in prison. This report stated parents should be encouraged and supported to tell their children the truth in an age-appropriate way to facilitate a trusting parent/child relationship to prevent fantasising about the situation (Robertson, 2012). Lying about the circumstances has been found to have damaging repercussions for the healthy development of the child (Robertson, 2012). Secrecy can contribute to the stigma surrounding the child, and reduce open communication within the family, reflecting an unpleasant image of the imprisoned parent (Murray & Murray, 2010). However, there continue to be unaddressed aspects within the literature that relate specifically to women who face telling their children of their time living together in prison. Dwyer (2014, p.505) further contributed to this concern, highlighting that children go on to carry the stigma for life when calling prison "my first home" or answering the question "where am I from?" Importantly, this area of concern has implications for social work in prison settings, which is addressed in the next chapter.

There is an abundance of self-help books and websites offering advice for telling your child of their adoption, surrogacy, or even In Vitro Fertilisation (IVF). However, currently there appears to be nothing relating to living as a baby in prison, with what was available limited to telling your child of a close family member's imprisonment. In Chapter Five, Nancy shared how she was concerned about her absence of baby photos, fearing her child would "hate" her when she found out about living in prison.

Some of the mothers struggled with deciding whether to tell their children at all and had conflicting ideas about the appropriate age at which to do this. Carrie commented "I would never lie to her but I don't think that I would tell her either". Levani thought she might leave telling her child until he was a young adult, stating "maybe not until he is 15 or 16". Kate shared her concern about not knowing how to tell to her child, asking "is it just something that you just sort of talk about in conversation and then he knows or what?" Several mothers raised concerns about telling their child before they were teased and called "jail baby" or "jail bait" by their siblings. Those participants that did attempt to address their time in prison, did so in a way they thought might protect their child. Lexi spoke about prison as "the resort" around her child. Aroha added that when her child asks her she will let her child know that prison "wasn't such a bad place; it wasn't bad like everyone says jail's bad". Fears and confusion over what to tell their children were frequently raised in participants' narratives, however this anxiety mothers experienced was seemingly not addressed. Carrie shares below an example of her concern:

> I am not going to lie to her. I don't want to tell her but eventually it will come "Oh where that photo taken?" or "Why was I born in Christchurch?" or "Where was our first house?" You know it will come up and I am not going to lie, but I don't want to tell her and then she is to turn around when she is a teenager and say ah well you did this to me, it is all your fault anyway. I can't even imagine dealing with a teenager, let alone a teenager that was a jail baby. (Carrie)

Summary

This chapter illustrates how women in this research developed significant attachments to the prison environment. Specifically, participants appreciated the comfortable and sheltered physical environment that provided safety and security through the order and routine of daily prison life. Some mothers described meaningful, supportive social relationships found within the prison, amongst the staff and their self-described "prison family". For these women, safety and security

were found in the restrictions and confinement of incarceration, where prison became idealised as a place of unconditional love, shelter, warmth and comfort, thereby fulfilling these sought after immediate human needs. As Aroha commented, "there was perfect everything in there". In spite of the highly monitored and constrained environment, as discussed in Chapter Five, some participants admitted to missing the safety, security and structure prison provided with Nancy describing the MBU as a "bubble" where "nothing else happens" (p.182). Hine felt a connection to the extent she called prison "home".

The paradoxical nature of the appeal of this environment was highlighted by participants who said they felt freer when they were incarcerated. The allure for some women to aspects of confinement challenges the logic of release and reintegration policy and current systems of social welfare. Most women experienced the demands and pressures of life outside after reintegration as overwhelming and commented on the disconnection they felt from their families and communities from having spent time in prison. As most mothers in this research were the primary caregivers for their children, they commented that managing this distance created by imprisonment and rebuilding family/whānau relationships on release, was one of the hardest aspects of their incarceration experience. Furthermore, the impact on the development of relationships between the child inside and their siblings and wider family carried with it an amount of guilt for the mother in deciding to have her child remain in her care. Despite these challenges being common to participants in this research, it was mothers with little family support or any meaningful agency engagement that found reintegration most difficult.

The following discussion chapter will aim to synthesise the findings of the last three chapters, discuss these in relation to the initial research questions, and suggest recommendations both for the MBU and social work practice.

8. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When I started on this research project, my intention was to understand the experiences of incarcerated mothers who were part of the MBU in New Zealand women's prisons. In doing this I identified features contributing to the development of attachment between mothers and their children as well as exploring environmental, social and cultural influences both in prison and when prisoners reintegrate. The nature and quality of relationships and connectedness, referred to throughout this thesis in terms of manaakitanga and whānaungatanga, were a focus throughout this thesis. Systems within the prison, between the prison and the community, and on the outside of the facility, all played a significant role in determining the experience of the mother and the child.

Earlier chapters highlighted the argument that early bonds and secure attachment between mother and child shape future relationship development (Goshin & Byrne, 2009; Perry, 2013; Sroufe, 2005). This research aims to contribute to the literature, by drawing attention to these developing relationships within the custodial environment. It further intends to enhance understanding of how the time women spent in the MBU influenced bonding and relationship development between a mother and her child, as well as highlight the impact this time in the MBU had on a mother post-release. In addition, based on my findings, this final chapter recommends the introduction of principles informing a therapeutic community framework as a model for practice in the provision of the MBU. I will then consider the relevance of the research findings for social work practice and the limitations identified in relation to this study. This chapter will conclude by addressing my responses to the initial research questions I introduced in Chapter One.

This is a qualitative study, drawing from participant observation and interview data. My aim in conducting the research was to provide rich, faithful, and detailed data unique to the MBU setting in Aotearoa, not to suggest generalisations to other jurisdictions or populations. The study is an interpretive process of interactions between the researcher, participant, data and environment. However, as systems thinking has been referred to throughout this thesis, it is still necessary to provide material to describe the context for the research, offering a nuanced understanding of the research environment. For this reason, Department of Corrections documentation has been included and, wherever possible, a balanced contextual description has been developed from my observations, participant data and the Department's policies.

In this concluding chapter I draw together the themes of this research and highlight three dominant findings. First, participants experienced the environment of the MBU as one characterised by contradictions, paradoxes and ambiguities. Second, the nature of the relationships within the MBU (specifically between the mother and her child, between the mother and the correctional system, and between the mother, child, outside family/whānau and community supports) has a direct impact on the wellbeing of the mother. Finally, these relationships appear to directly impact a mother's wellbeing and to influence her sense of competence and autonomy as a parent. This outcome has significant implications for her reintegration success and long-term wellbeing. These three themes are explored in the following sections.

MBU as an Environment of Contradictory Purposes

The environment within the MBU was described by one participant as "the best and the worst place", underlining the contradictory experience most had of this setting. The MBU was established to facilitate attachment between a mother and her child within a supported nursery environment (Department of Corrections, 2008). It was evident from the data collected in this research that all participants who had the babies with them in the MBU fostered strong attachments with the child. The development of this relationship occurred within a prison that is typically subject to institutional regulations and routine requirements. Operating a prison nursery within

a custodial institution combines two contexts with differing objectives and contrasting philosophical foundations: punishment and rehabilitation (Ward & Salmon, 2009). Ambiguity arises when rehabilitative programmes are introduced into what are arguably traditional retributive prison systems. Ward (2010) questions whether an MBU with a restorative aim to enhance mother and child wellbeing can exist within an arena traditionally not thought of as conducive to intimacy and relationships. This study draws attention to the uneasy cohabitation of retributive and rehabilitative efforts within the prison nursery.

The contradictory nature of the prison nursery was addressed in Chapter Five in which I highlighted the participant's struggles to parent independently (and the self-determination that requires) within the constrained and structured environment of the prison facility. The women's stories were replete with negotiations involving power and control between them and the prison system in their endeavour to parent and make decisions for their children. Mothers navigated an environment in which their autonomy as mothers was challenged by custodial requirements consistent with traditional correctional imperatives. Chapter Five also addressed the role of the officer within the MBU. At times, mothers experienced officers as a source of support and a key figure in the lives of their child, while at other times officers were the focus of participants' resentment when it was perceived they used their authority to instruct mothers on how to parent. Inmates experienced conflicting roles of both prisoner and mother which at times caused stress and confusion (see also Eloff & Moen, 2003; Enos, 2001; Berry & Eigenberg, 2003; Goffman, 1969). While as prisoners the women experienced increased freedom and control in the MBU, many of the women drew attention to their reduced autonomy and limited decision-making power as mothers (Feintuch, 2013; Luther & Gregson, 2011).

Participants acknowledged their gratitude for the opportunity to be together with their child on the one hand, but described the difficulty of reconciling the private and intimate world of parenting within the very public space of a custodial institution on the other. Feminist scholarship has highlighted this relationship whereby the private realms of personal life are exposed within the public domain (Elliott-Hohepa &

Hungerford, 2013; Haney, 2013; Kruttschnitt, Gartner & Miller, 2000; Moran et al., 2013). Mothers in my research similarly spoke of having limited privacy, exposing their parenting to evaluation and scrutiny from prison officers and other mothers in the MBU. For some mothers this felt like parenting in a "fishbowl" in front of an audience. Naomi's comment in Chapter Five highlighted the relief she felt when she became free from the constant attention on her parenting after her baby was removed (p.133-134). Mothers shared the stress of this monitored mothering, when under the constant surveillance of authorities and immersed in a custodial system.

Chapter Six addressed the potential to develop bonds and facilitate attachment through the time spent together with their children as undoubtedly the most significant positive aspect of the MBU. Mothers spoke about the significance of these developing bonds that they referred to as keeping them "out of trouble". Furthermore, a sense of parenting fulfilment was experienced. Mothers had time to breastfeed longer, and by focusing all their attention on parenting without outside distractions, they noticed their child's milestones. This bonding time was something many participants highlighted as absent outside of the prison. Mothers' stories portrayed special moments spent noticing milestones, playing and cuddling, reading and simply being with their child. However, these positive aspects were at times overshadowed by the confronting stories the participants shared: for example, intervention from prison authorities in relation to their mothering practices, or disciplinary measures that involved children. The requirements of the correctional institution at times invoked systems and discipline that disrupted attachment development and relationships between children, mothers and their families, and raised questions about the rights of the child.

The metaphor of "mother prison" was a term introduced in Chapter Seven to encapsulate the extent of paternalism some participants experienced when in the prison system. Most participants found prison to provide an element of protection, shelter, belonging, structure or routine. For two participants these aspects appeared missing from their lives outside and they spoke about becoming dependent on them when inside the prison, viewing them as favourable to the conditions they faced in the community. In fact, these participants admitted to intentionally breaching their

parole to return to what they referred to as “home”. This response would seem to contradict the intent of the Department of Corrections to provide inmates the chance to address their offending and gain skills when in prison to prepare them for release to lead independent and autonomous lives on the outside (Department of Corrections, 2019d). Although participants were grateful for the opportunity to be with their child, the mothers noted that the MBU was a challenging environment within which to parent. This thesis, therefore draws attention to the ambiguities and contradictions that surround the intended aims of the prison nursery. The MBU appeared at times to be at risk of jeopardising the reason for its establishment; to promote a relationship and support the development of bonds between a mother and her child.

Relationships between Systems in the MBU

The second dominant theme throughout this thesis is the influence of the MBU milieu on relationship development between a mother and her child, and the involvement of family/whānau and community systems both within and outside of the prison. Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory identifies the family at the “heart” of any social system, recognising relationships that support positive parent and child connections as contributing to healthy interactions between the parent and their wider networks (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p.260). The ease with which relationships within the prison and between the prison and the community outside can interact, is referred to in this chapter in terms of the permeability between systems. This ease of transition across these systems appeared vital in contributing to mother’s wellbeing. As a result, the development of pro-social relationships appeared central to the wellbeing of the mothers and indicative of their reintegration success.

Participants who struggled with reintegration and connected with life inside the MBU were those identified as more vulnerable and isolated, with limited family supports and a diminished sense of belonging. I observed that increased interactions between the incarcerated mother, child, family/whānau, other mothers and their community outside, would in turn increase the likelihood of successful participant

reintegration. This interplay of systems was illustrated throughout the research, as this mother-child dyad strengthened within the MBU and moved from prison to the community. Chapter Six, in particular, considered the central positioning of the mother-child sub-system as not only in a relationship with individuals, but in their interactions with the spatial, temporal and social environment surrounding them (illustrated in Figure 6.1).

In particular, increased permeability, or the ease with which participants interacted with systems, resources and supports inside and outside of the prison, appeared to be predictive of reintegration success. When boundaries between inside and outside of prison were rigid, mothers' spoke of feeling disconnected as they struggled to rebuild their lives and relationships with their family and communities after their time spent in prison. The strength of relationships mothers developed when in prison between systems within the MBU environment and between inside and outside of the prison, were further highlighted in Chapter Seven where the focus was on participants' transition from prison to the community. Prison release for mothers who appeared to have limited family relationships or agency supports was experienced as emotionally overwhelming and at times unmanageable. For two women, this resulted in intentionally reoffending in order to return to the familiar surroundings of the prison they literally referred to as "home". For these mothers, the appeal was in the structure, shelter and security incarceration provided, and relationships with "prison family" they did not have on the outside.

Relationships with programme providers also influenced the level of engagement due to courses offered within the MBU. In Chapter Five, I highlighted the substantial interest mothers demonstrated towards the Kowhiritanga programme. This prison-based rehabilitative programme engaged a traditional kaupapa in the delivery of a programme specifically for women, addressing their offending while acknowledging cultural principles and issues they faced as women (Department of Corrections, 2017d). Almost all participants who took part in this course talked about it favourably and enthusiastically. The mothers voiced their appreciation of the way this programme utilised a traditional spiritual framework based on whānaungatanga. Women were attracted to the holistic nature, the cultural discourse and the

collaborative approach offered by Kowhiritanga (Marshall & Burton, 2010). A relationship between the individual and the programme provider appears to be a critical factor for successful rehabilitative programmes (Andrews et al., 2011; Dowden & Andrews, 2004). In Chapter Five, I cited Levani as she spoke of feeling more connected and better understood by staff when her ethnic (Pasifika) identity was acknowledged. This idea of enhanced engagement when client and facilitator are of the same ethnic group, is also supported in the literature (Pinehira and Doherty, 2013). Cargo (2016) encourages the "use of Māori for Māori" when it comes to Māori clients working with specialist services, as they bring with them a shared sense of history (p.259). However, Kowhiritanga was apparently positively experienced as a beneficial programme by all participants, irrespective of ethnic identity. Its appeal for the mothers in this research was due to the prominance of relationship-enhancing activities such as group work, group support, cultural discourse, facilitator style and the personal connections on the programme. Kowhiritanga recognised mothers as part of a wider system, connected to whānau and communities. Mothers spoke of experiencing a sense of belonging when they were understood as exisiting within a wider system of interconnecting relationships (Flavin, 2004). This finding provides evidence to support the use of traditional kaupapa and frameworks specific to Māori in the delivery of programmes within the correctional environment.

Parental Autonomy in the MBU

Thirdly, and of significance to social work professionals, a key finding of this research was the struggle mothers experienced within the prison nursery environment in terms of establishing their parental autonomy. This idea ties in with both themes previously mentioned. Mothers recounted finding it difficult to parent within an environment that limited their capacity to exercise parental authority. Furthermore, the women's capacity for parenting satisfaction appeared to be shaped by their engagement with prison resources, and their relationships with family/whānau and communities outside of the prison.

Participant's struggle for autonomous mothering was recognised throughout all findings chapters. Chapter Five, highlighted the challenges mothers faced parenting within the restricted prison system. In Chapter Six, I demonstrated how the milieu of the MBU contributed to the level of parental involvement mothers experienced. On the one hand, mothers told stories of reading, laughing, and playing with their child and how they valued the opportunity to spend this time, facilitating a family to bond. At the same time, the women spoke of the distress of having a child removed while in the MBU, reinforcing the lack of self-determination they experienced over their own lives and that of their child. In Chapter Seven, I drew attention to the experiences of mothers who, when reintegrating, felt overwhelmed and unsupported with limited capacity to manage their own lives, with two ultimately taking measures to return to prison.

There were, however, significant events that occurred within the MBU that provided mothers with a sense of self-worth. In Chapter Six, mothers spoke about the importance of being able to provide a cup of tea for their visitors, or cooking a meal for whānau to share. Mothers indicated these events enabled them to feel a sense of relationship and belonging, developing self-determination and pride through their ability to provide. Mothers were encouraged to participate in whānau days, and were able to organise baptism ceremonies, graduations and children's birthday celebrations. Myerhoff (1986, 1992) refers to *definitional ceremonies* as occasions that held particular significance for the individual. Within interpretive anthropology, Moore and Myerhoff (1977) describe definitional ceremonies as providing belonging to a group. These events offer a sense of identity and autonomy. Definitional ceremonies enable "opportunities to be seen and in one's own terms" (Myerhoff, 1986, p.267). There were clear indications in my research that, rather than the event itself, it was the sense of belonging and authority such celebrations offered mothers, that was of most significance. While these events were child focused, the opportunity to engage with family/whānau and community was particularly important for the mothers and demonstrates the potential the MBU offers to enhance the autonomy and hence the self-worth of women within the unit.

Recommendations for the MBU

During this research I began to understand that putting the wellbeing of the child and the mother-child relationship at the forefront was critical when responding to the needs of this population. The Department of Corrections has already demonstrated commitment to this with their investment in the Women's Strategy, Wāhine – E rere ana ki te Pae Hou 2017-2021 (Department of Corrections, 2017c) to deliver improvements to the provision for women in prison. Furthermore the Hōkai Rangi Strategy 2019-2024 has a clear focus on wellbeing, strengthening relationships and increased whanau connectedness, and suggests the development of "community-based mother and baby centres that promote a healing environment" (Department of Corrections, 2019f, p. 23). Early intervention and mental health initiatives have also been a focus of recent policy (The Treasury, 2019) and therefore this research is timely in making suggestions with regards to the current provision of the MBU.

Based on the findings of this research, I hope that these recommendations serve to enhance mothers' experience of parental autonomy and their own self-determination within the MBU, facilitate the development of mother-child relationships, and encourage family/whānau and community relationships to support reintegration. In doing this, I strongly suggest that using family/whānau and community involvement to address the needs of incarcerated mothers would be beneficial to this process. Significantly, when support systems are able to be mobilised, stress and social isolation can be reduced (Arditti, 2005). There is evidence to suggest that a prison nursery run concurrently with a developmentally supported programme led by a team of professionals, family advocates and correctional staff is best able to provide for the needs of both the mother and the child (Byrne et al., 2010; Shlonsky et al., 2016).

At the time of this research, the MBU appeared to promote more of a community environment than experienced in the main wings of the prison. However, significant

gaps were identified by participants between their lives inside of prison and their lives involving their family/whānau and communities on the outside. When released from prison, mothers also faced considerable challenges getting back into their own lives with a big discrepancy felt between what their lives were like when inside the MBU and life within their communities. Therefore, I believe there is a significant need for a more collaborative programme encouraging relationships outside of the prison to best serve the interests of mothers with their babies. I suggest that one way this could be addressed is by more explicitly incorporating into the MBU features of a Therapeutic Community (TC) (Perrin, Frost & Ware, 2018; Ware, 2011). This idea will be the focus of the following section.

The Therapeutic Community Framework

A Therapeutic Community (TC) framework provides an environment based on community participation and mutual support. This model encourages individuals to collaborate and invest in their own wellbeing and that of others through contributing and positively engaging with those around them (Glaser, 1981; Gowing et al., 2002; Matua Raki, 2012; Ware, Frost & Hoy, 2010). This style of programme may go some way to resolving the contradictions and ambiguities that have been highlighted in this research. Used as an organising framework, the TC may encourage the development of parental autonomy and self-determination amongst mothers in the MBU, supporting mother-child attachment. This framework may also enable mothers to develop whanaungatanga, encouraging pro-social relationships with family/whānau and community systems both within and outside of the prison. Skills acquired, relationships established and a general sense of self-confidence, competence and mastery over their own lives as parents within a TC, may then translate to participants lives when they are released. As noted above, these systems of support are central to the wellbeing of mothers and their babies and indicative of a mother's reintegration success. The following section considers how, using the idea of this framework, MBUs might provide mothers with a place to develop attachment, connections, their identity as a mother and an appropriate measure of parental autonomy. The importance of considering the context of the MBU is supported by evidence to suggest the influence of the environment within which

programmes take place (Perrin et al., 2018; Ware, 2011). A focus on collaboration, networking and working across systems within and outside of the prison environment may enhance wellbeing for mothers, their children and their wider whānau.

In New Zealand, TCs were initially developed in correctional settings as a group-based approach to support the rehabilitation of people who took part in substance abuse (Matua Raki, 2012). These programmes have been modified for use in the prison context within the last ten years (Matua Raki, 2012). In contrast to the traditional goals of a correctional context, the TC aims to provide a relatively autonomous environment (Ware et al., 2010). Key components of this model include a community context of more open communication with a greater level of shared decision making between all groups and community members. Staff are required to actively participate in the group and collaborate as valued community members alongside the individual, whānau and community supports. Every encounter is considered an opportunity for therapeutic change. Residents are encouraged to invest in their own self-improvement and in the wellbeing of others, and positively role model and input into the running of the group (Glaser, 1981; Ware et al., 2010). The community is based around shared values that include self-respect and respect for others, honesty, and a willingness to learn and engage in personal growth (Gowing et al., 2002). Community meetings (chaired by 'senior' inmate community members), community living, individual commitment, personal responsibility, reciprocal feedback, and self-awareness facilitates interaction and collaboration, thereby promoting wellbeing through social and psychological adjustment (Fortune, Ward & Polaschek, 2014; Gowing et al., 2002; Mosher & Philips, 2006; Ware et al., 2010). Peer support amongst group members provides a safe environment to contribute, engage and provide constructive feedback for individuals (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010; Gowing et al., 2002). Providing this type of supported context within the MBU, may help mothers develop personal agency and offer the supports noted as missing by those who spoke of feeling "overwhelmed" by the process of reintegration.

TCs and peer support systems are already in use both within and outside of the prison system, including in drug treatment (Edgar, Jacobson & Bigger, 2011; Mosher & Philips, 2006), with sex offenders (Perrin et al., 2018), prisoners, young people and homeless populations (Matua Raki, 2012). Within New Zealand prisons, Māori Focus Units (MFUs) are essentially a therapeutic community, within which "Māori cultural principles and practices form the basis of daily interaction" (Department of Corrections, 2009). Pacific Focus Units, special treatment units for sex offenders and drug treatment units (DTUs), also offer a therapeutic community environment for those incarcerated (Department of Corrections, 2019c). Kia Marama was established as New Zealand's first specialist treatment programme for child sex offenders in 1989 and developed TC processes as part of its programme delivery in the early 21st century (Anstiss, 2007). Te Piriti followed in 1994 as a special treatment unit modelled on Kia Marama. Te Piriti developed to deliver a therapeutic community within a strong tikanga Māori framework which was shown to increase the successful outcomes in recidivism rates of Māori men (Anstiss, 2007). This research also acknowledges the effectiveness of programmes delivered through values and ideals from the same ethnicity of those taking part (Anstiss, 2007).

Through TC's, desistence from crime is encouraged when individuals have the opportunity to engage with people around them (Edgar et al., 2011; Mosher and Phillips, 2006). Reduced recidivism rates of offenders within the TC based DTUs demonstrates a degree of success of these programmes in New Zealand (Department of Corrections, 2010). Improvements to social relationships, employment, levels of motivation and acknowledgment of responsibility have also highlighted the effectiveness of TCs at Odyssey House Auckland (Matua Raki, 2012) and in the Moana House evaluation (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010).

Using Features of a Therapeutic Community Framework to Enhance the MBU

I argue that the TC framework could potentially enhance relationships within the MBU, as well as facilitate support systems for mothers when released from the unit. The TC framework draws on the strengths of those more experienced within a

supported environment, mirroring the tuakana/teina tradition.[52] The informal use of Levani in a "maternal" role as child carer, illustrated in Chapter Five, already promotes this idea of collaborative support within the community. In this way, mothers within the unit could draw on each other as resources increasing their own self-determination while contributing to this community ideal. In providing support and a willingness to help each other, a traditional Māori whānau collective approach to childcare emerges rather than an isolated individualistic one. Using inmates to provide childcare for the children of the prison nursery is not unheard of—Wee Ones Nursery at Indiana Women's Prison employed this system. At this facility prisoners were trained in providing childcare to offer immediate temporary care for the child when a mother is unavailable (Whiteacre et al., 2013; Women's Prison Association, 2009).

Using TC foundations, the MBU could provide the "village" that it anecdotally takes to "raise a child". This approach broadens and strengthens a mother's support networks, reducing the difficult and at times overwhelming experience of sole parenting, highlighted in Chapter Five. In this way, the MBU could potentially represent a more systematic and formalised means of addressing the isolation associated with mothering within prison by involving supports and systems within the prison community, and from family/whānau and agencies on the outside, thereby encouraging accountability for the child as a shared experience.

Adapting the Role of the MBU Officer in the Therapeutic Community

Chapter Five drew attention to the contradictions mothers felt when officers were assigned both a custodial as well as support role for new mothers taking care of children. Mothers commented how this meant at times they were treated more like a friend or family member, but also reprimanded like a prisoner by the same custodial staff member. Some participants found this dual relationship confusing, particularly those who appeared to have experienced disrupted attachment in their

[52] The tuakana-teina relationship provides the buddy system model and is an integral part of traditional Māori society. The older and more expert tuakana (brother, sister or cousin) helps and guides a more younger or less expert teina (originally a younger sibling or cousin of the same gender) (Ministry of Education, 2019)

own lives, and who spoke of difficult childhoods and estranged family relationships. Despite these complexities there was a strong sense that the positive relationships mothers did develop with staff were beneficial and added value to their MBU experience. It was also clear in this research that the contributions of some officers were an asset and had the potential to develop a nurturing and supported MBU environment.

In acknowledging the traditional role of the officer in the correctional environment, I appreciate these recommendations may not be considered pragmatic. However, the TC may provide an environment where the officer's role is understood within a community where they play a part in contributing towards the wellbeing of the individual. The positive attributes of officers were highlighted in mother's stories illustrating their unique involvement with the children within the MBU. Within a TC, staff are central to the functioning of the group through their involvement and contribution towards a supportive community (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010). Staff become role models, encouraged to "offer personal experience as part of the therapeutic interaction" (Gowing et al., 2002, p.9) delivered in a non-threatening and non-authoritarian way.

Despite these promising prospects, I concluded that there are remaining areas of concern surrounding the role of custodial staff who work closely with mothers and children. It may be that officers require more explicit training and knowledge around understanding the exceptional circumstances faced by mothers in the MBU. Aspects of staff training, specific to officers working within the MBU, were also cited as a key finding in the report produced by Elliott-Hohepa & Hungerford (2013). The current research highlighted the unique position of mothers in the MBU, having lost the immediate care of their children on the outside and being responsible for dividing their families. The impact of these events was evident in the guilt expressed in participants' stories. Mothers reported how feeling like this influenced their demeanour and behaviour when in the unit, and how they felt misunderstood by officers who did not acknowledge this aspect of their lives. Participants in this research suggested that someone with expertise in childcare and early childhood provision would be helpful as a consistent resource to support and educate mothers

in the MBU. I recommend that an expert with early childhood qualifications and experience could fill this role. They could also be a liaison to support mothers in maintaining and developing relationships with their family/whānau on the outside. There are examples in the international research provided in Chapter Two that highlight the benefits of staff trained in early childhood education and care, offering nursery services within the MBU (Byrne et al., 2010; Goshin et al., 2013).

Using the Therapeutic Framework as a Base to Facilitate Whānau and Family Connectedness within the MBU

I argue that a TC environment encouraging supportive relationships between systems and supports within the prison may be critical in facilitating a mother's wellbeing. Drawing on the self-determination and parental autonomy encouraged through this framework, the MBU could support a sense of building whanaungatanga where relationships between systems and supports inside and outside of the prison could be developed. The current research indicates that connectedness between a mother and child, and their family/whānau and community, is one of the key features determining reintegration success. Through the framework offered by principles of a TC, family/whānau and community networks could be strengthened and relationships developed. Drawing upon the extended family system would acknowledge more traditional Māori whānau methods of shared care based on manaakitanga and whānaungatanga, described in Chapter Three. According to Cargo (2016), Māori may be "income poor" but "whānau wealthy", where this larger whānau group could potentially be called on for support (p.258). This could, for instance, encourage increased involvement of others connected to the child including the father, immediate and extended family/whānau, friends, and supports within the community. Responsibility for the child would then involve the mother, father, whānau and community even when a mother and child is confined to prison, spreading the expectations of caregiving across all those involved. These more traditional childcare arrangements highlight the importance of the collective, where children are not viewed as a possession of the parents but the responsibility of the wider whānau, relying on extended family systems of support (Cargo, 2016).

There are clear indications throughout this research that a focus on whānau relationships is a component contributing to the successful release of a mother from prison. The TC recognises this connectedness, manaakitanga and whānaungatanga, as central to the promotion of change. These fundamental relationships have the potential to impact on long-term outcomes for whānau (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010). Moana House emphasised the significance of maintaining family connectedness through providing funding for travel to bring family to the facility (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010). Within the current MBU, efforts were made by the prison to organise family days or the gathering of whānau for children's celebrations. However, I suggest that extending the principles of a TC framework in contributing towards the development of self-determination of the mother within the MBU may be able to further strengthen the vital role of relationship development. Providing consistent, engaging, and meaningful opportunities for mothers to enhance relationships between family/whānau may facilitate the permeability of relationships between systems inside and outside of the prison, contributing favourably to participants' reintegration experiences and long-term wellbeing.

In suggesting these changes, I acknowledge that to enable more flexible associations between inside and outside of prison to be a viable feature, security and access issues must be negotiated. The data from my study indicate benefits for reintegration in bringing these outside supports inside the prison before mothers are released that deserve further investigation. Reintegration services may well be more accessible now compared to when the fieldwork component of this research was conducted (2012-2015). However, focused intervention specifically for mothers released from prison with their children may warrant further attention. Furthermore, mothers indicated ways in which the current access of visiting family and children may be enhanced through increasing the quality of interactions between an incarcerated mother, her child and their whānau. For example, visiting spaces were referred to by mothers as "noisy" and "busy" communal spaces that distracted the children from engaging with their siblings and whānau. A more personal environment conducive to whānau maintaining and establishing

relationships with their new family member could be beneficial. International prison nurseries arrange private visiting, thereby promoting the connectedness of family (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2008). I suggest more frequent and intimate visits would better address some of the issues raised between siblings, especially the competition for their mother's limited attention. Although security is a primary consideration within the prison, there is much value in incorporating wider family into the prison nursery (Shlonsky et al., 2016). Additionally, more regular whānau and family days would contribute to whānau remaining connected, as would more frequent home visits for the child to resolve the disconnection that may occur when family members live some distance from the prison. I suggest extending the principles of a TC may be a way to facilitate more creative means by which families and whānau can helpfully remain connected and build on their relationships during periods of incarceration.

Building on the principles of a TC, a framework such as this in the MBU could similarly make family/whānau relationship building a priority for mothers while inside. I believe that, as a result of undertaking this research, more involvement of the family/whānau with the mother-child while imprisoned is necessary to minimise the distance created by imprisonment and the disconnectedness that can result as a mother is removed from daily involvement with her family. To minimise this impact of imprisonment for all involved, organisation of the MBU based on the TC framework may serve to legitimise the role of the individual, enable them to self-manage and develop connections with others, and operate in a prosocial way that they can then generalise to their lives outside of the prison and in the community on release. Networks of support in the community established before a mother's release may diminish some of the barriers and hurdles inevitably faced upon reintegration. This framework may serve to bridge the gap between inside and outside of the prison, strengthen the relationship between mothers' lives in the MBU and their families outside, and support and manage the reintegration effort for women who are released.

The distance felt by those incarcerated to their families outside is recognised in a programme run by HMP PARC Prison in the UK. As part of their *Family and*

Significant Others Strategy (HMP & YOI Parc, 2018), the parenting centre within this prison has taken measures to bring the outside lives of the inmates' children into the prison. One example from this facility is that they organise parent-teacher interviews with the teacher, the inmate and the child while the parent is in prison. This initiative aims to address the isolation and disconnection that results from having an incarcerated parent.

I suggest in this research the need for more strategies to support incarcerated families, children of prisoners, and mothers and babies to remain connected to minimise the impact of incarceration. Padfield and Maruna (2006) highlight the substantial focus on an individual's entry into prison, with little attention paid to their release. Institutional barriers often prevent family and community connectedness, despite research demonstrating that these interactions have beneficial outcomes on release (Visher & Travis, 2003). Norway, in their example of "open" prisons, fosters the link between incarcerated individuals and their communities and has one of the lowest recidivism rates in the world at 20 percent (Sterbenz, 2014). I suggest the influence of family attachment on post-release success is an area in need of further focus.

Implementing a Therapeutic Framework that Increases Skills and Involves the Community

The Kowhiritanga programme highlighted the benefits of participating in a culturally informed model of treatment. The majority of mothers, both Māori and non-Māori, spoke positively about the programme. Mothers described Kowhiritanga as "absolutely amazing" (p.131) or noted that they had "changed as a person" (p.133). Although this programme was illustrated in Chapter Five to use cognitive-behavioural and relapse-prevention therapy to encourage change, mothers singled out the group approach, cultural responsiveness, and facilitator engagement for favourable evaluation. This aligns with research indicating benefits to participating in programmes delivering "holistic and integrative Māori perspectives of health and wellbeing" (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010, p.42). Values and practices informed by Māori beliefs resonate with both Māori and non-Māori

(Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2010). Furthermore, research indicates that for those who identify as Māori, developing a sense of cultural identity builds protective factors including autonomy and self-determination (Brittain & Tuffin, 2017; Cargo, 2016; Durie, 2003).

With the exception of the Kowhiritanga course, participant engagement with other culturally specific rehabilitation programmes was not found. Although mothers indicated parenting programmes they took part in, they spoke about these unenthusiastically and in a negative way. The lack of provision of a range of health or education prison programmes is a concern as participation in these types of initiatives is suggested to encourage rehabilitation, reduce reoffending and increases the positive outcomes for mother and child (O'Brien &Bates, 2005; Flavin, 2004). Research suggests successful programmes in prison must address both human and social capital through improving personal skills, self-belief, positive relationships and social connectedness to other people, family and community groups (Farrall, 2004; Flavin, 2004). My research suggests that a programme focusing on these factors could make significant contributions to mothers' overall wellbeing.

Mothers spoke of being restricted in their ability to parent when in prison, experiencing limited autonomy over their lives and diminished parental authority. In my research I highlighted a number of specific areas where a participant's role as a mother was constrained by the prison system. For example, mothers were unable to take regular and spontaneous photos to document their children's growth and create memories, and they could not sleep together (with safeguards) to remain close. Mothers were restricted in the food they were allowed to buy for their child and, when accompanied by prison officers on visits into the community, mothers spoke of being excluded from parenting groups. In particular, mothers experienced significant distress when trying to manage mothering of their children outside of the prison. Through a TC framework, a holistic approach could be developed to increase mothers' skill set, health, ability to parent, relationships, family involvement and practical support. I have recommended increased use of childcare services to provide mothers with respite from the demands of sole parenting, contributing to the development of trust and secure bonds when short periods of separation are

made available. While security restrictions and custodial requirements may make implementing recommendations challenging, the potential benefits in increasing mother's self-determination and confidence towards parenting indicates changes are worth considering.

Mother's stories in Chapter Seven indicated that reintegration for most participants involved a difficult transition. Continual references to being "overwhelmed" featured in most release stories. Women in this research felt isolated and like they were serving another sentence in these highly vulnerable post-release days and weeks. The contrast between life inside and the communities where some mothers returned was immense. Many found that the time spent in prison had damaged or disrupted relationships with family and other children, and created a disconnection with their communities. Rebuilding their lives on the outside was for some an all-but impossible task. For example, Nancy referred to feeling judged when accessing welfare assistance, resulting in her returning to prostitution (p.211). Naomi and Kate similarly referred to the immense challenges faced when accessing WINZ (p.204-206). Mothers without family or supports were often managing alone, having no connection or relationship with a community agency to assist in tasks associated with reintegration. This supports previous recommendations that a focus on relationships with family and whānau outside, prior to release, can significantly enhance mother's wellbeing when reintegrating. Links to community supports and agency relationships developed before reintegration takes place appeared equally as important.

I suggest that the strengths-based approach of TCs may add value here in their "communitarian orientation" of facilitating and supporting connectedness between individuals and communities (Fortune et al., 2014, p.95). Research highlights the valuable role community connections and comprehensive reintegration services could play in reducing the likelihood of women reoffending (Richie, 2001). Many international prison nursery programs highlighted in Chapter Two, encourage women to widen their focus from being primarily responsible for their child. These facilities provide early childhood nursery services within the prison to care for the child for part of the day, while the mother fulfils course obligations or employment

in the community or the correctional facility. Emphasising features of normalisation, these international jurisdictions attempt to mirror the circumstances women face when in the reality of their lives outside of the prison (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2008). These programmes support women to bridge the connection between MBUs and community reintegration, involving themselves outside of the prison before they are released. For participants of this research leaving the security of "Mother Prison", it was clear that these established relationships to networks within their communities before release was vital to facilitate reintegration.

Assisting mothers to develop self-determination, and a sense of authority in their lives and that of their children while in prison, has been the focus of this chapter. Literature supporting the findings of this research and the recommendations included in this chapter highlight how, without the necessary skills to handle the multiple demands of reintegrating and resettling, women are unlikely to succeed in attempts to avoid recidivist offending (O'Brien & Bates, 2005; Richie, 2001). Reintegration services such as PARS, Pillars, Prisoners Aid, Salvation Army, Rehabilitation Trust (PART) and Reclaim Another Woman (RAW), all attempt to address reintegration issues, however more specific services for mothers reintegrating with children from prison may be required.[53] Similar to the accounts from mothers provided in Chapter Seven, Martin and colleagues (2013) illustrated how women felt "set up to fail" as the provision and facilitated mothering experienced when in the prison nursery abruptly discontinued when the women were released from prison (p.203). Michalsen (2011) proposed the considerable barriers experienced by women after their release are at risk of counteracting the positive effects associated with mother-child bonding that may have developed in prison.

[53] Pillars is a children's charity set up to help children and families of prisoners. RAW is a charitable social venture aimed at recidivist female offenders and their children to break the cycle of crime and provide acceptance and choice. PART provides re-integrative services to prisoners, ex-prisoners and their whānau to assist them to re-integrate back into the community. (https://www.corrections.govt.nz/about_us/working_with_us/partners/supporting_organisations.html)

I have suggested that introducing principles of a TC could address some of the contradictions inherent in the MBU environment and develop a supportive network of family/whānau and community connections to assist in the reintegration of mother and child. The TC works as a team to promote the wellbeing of the mother encouraging systems and supports from within and outside of the prison. Community members can be found in the MBU staff, other mothers, family and whānau and community supports. I have illustrated that one of the key features of this community of shared care could be in the permeability of relationships between systems, for mothers to be able to engage with and be supported across all of these systems when within the prison. Rehabilitating inmates need to feel a sense of ownership over their lives, have the skills to promote their own wellbeing, and feel worthy as a parent when they leave the security and provision of "Mother Prison". Acquiring these personal skills and experiencing fulfilling personal relationships while in the TC could assist in successfully crossing the boundary between inside and outside of prison. Systems of support, also established before their release, would then be connected and ready to travel this reintegration journey with mothers. It would be my recommendation that as the TC model has proven to be a successful method of programme delivery, and if principles of this framework were to be adopted in the current MBU, it would likely enable a mother in prison to feel empowered in her own life, and encouraged in her role as a mother.

Relevance of these Research Findings to Social Work

Social work research is most often focused on relevant social issues with a commitment to social justice. Core values in professional social work practice include appreciating people's strengths and resilience, being authentic, fostering empowerment and autonomy, promoting social justice and respecting the person (Harms, 2007). It was central to the aims of this study to position mothers in their wider societal context, therefore raising an awareness of the social, political, economic and cultural factors impacting on them (Maidment & Egan, 2016). As a social work researcher, I am very aware of the way stigma and oppression operates at structural, cultural and personal levels. Therefore, in this research it was a priority

to engage in anti-oppressive practice, through a feminist-informed theoretical lens led by participant's voices and their stories. This approach valued mother's perspectives and offered a place for their worthy and very personal stories to be told.

The project has yielded a unique set of data, producing in-depth accounts of women's experiences of the MBU. In this way, social work research highlights the potential for personal stories to create social change (Riessman, 2008). I believe mothers' stories could contribute towards the Department of Corrections vision in "creating lasting change by breaking the cycle of reoffending" (Department of Corrections, 2019e). This research may support and strengthen current knowledge, and to improve and develop practice. Furthermore, this research aims to raise awareness around the issue of offender rehabilitation. Central to social work principles and values, this research seeks to inform future policy with suggestions to enhance wellbeing for mothers in custody and their next generation. It is hoped that these findings and recommendations will be of interest to both policy makers and those involved in providing service delivery within the prison system. This research seems timely with the current government focus on wellbeing and early intervention (The Treasury, 2019).

Throughout this chapter I have recommended that the needs of mothers within the MBU may be best served by introducing a TC model to this environment. The role of the social worker within such an environment would be to strengthen and increase the permeability of the connections between a mother, her whānau, and community supports and resources, with the view to enabling successful transitions during reintegration. The role of the social worker could include working with whānau around how to manage the dynamic change within the family when the mother is incarcerated and how the whānau might manage differently at this time. A social work practitioner working in an MBU could also potentially work with siblings to accept the new baby into the family and focus on how best to manage visiting spaces to maximise this time to connect and interact. As much as the focus in social work is typically around engagement and the significance of developing supportive relationships, equal attention needs to be paid to the maintenance and ongoing

support of mothers as they leave prison (Padfield & Maruna, 2006). I acknowledge that the aspects highlighted in this section may be part of the current social work role in the MBU. However, placing this emphasis on aspects of reintegration to increase a mother's sense of belonging, self-worth and belief in their ability to cope in the world outside of the prison is likely to enhance reintegration success for this cohort. Bringing community supports into the prison and establishing connections before a mother's release may be an area further strengthened by the involvement of a social worker.

Whether to tell children that they were born in prison was a topic of considerable stress for mothers and has direct relevance for social work practice. The extent of the uncertainty mothers experienced over how they were going to tell their children, when they should tell them, and even if they should be told, was heard through mother's stories in Chapter Seven. Mothers feared their child would hate them when told of their birthplace, and blame them for any issues their child may have experienced due to their being in prison as an infant. These concerns were for the most part not addressed with participants before, or after leaving the prison, and appear to be an under-researched topic area. I have been unable to access self-help literature or books that advise mothers on ways they may be able to manage this delicate idea of their child spending the first years of their life in prison. Many children's books address the loss of a parent due to incarceration (Birtha, 2017; Curcio, 2015; Higgins, 2012), but not that of the child also being incarcerated. This has genuine and significant implications for social work practice within the MBU where the role of the social worker may be to start conversations around this topic to encourage mothers to share solutions.

Limitations of this Research

This research delivers the qualitative accounts of 12 women who were in the MBU at the time of this research. It is a small-scale but in-depth inquiry offering a comprehensive picture into the world inhabited by these mothers. Using a qualitative methodology, it was not the aim of this study to make generalisations from mothers' stories. The focus of this research was on the individual, using the rich

data of multiple visits and interviews, to provide in-depth accounts and to generate appreciation of the participants' experiences in context. This strategy has resulted in the production of data that is explicit and detailed in illustrating the lived experience of the mothers. As a result, it must be acknowledged that the findings of this research are directly applicable to that very specific cohort of the MBU population between the years 2012 and 2015.

I acknowledge that there is a four-year time lapse since the last point of data collection completed as part of this research. As such, some practices and procedures within the prison, and with regards to the MBU, may have changed. Furthermore, there is likely to be more readily available reintegration services in the community that have been introduced since the completion of this research. It may be that specific reintegration services need to be strengthened that aim to support mothers leaving prison with their children. There is also a gap in the post-release follow-up data that was gathered where two out of the original 12 participants did not continue to be a part of this research when they returned to their communities. This was due to one participant being in witness protection and a second participant declining to stay involved. Additionally, this thesis recommends that more detailed follow-up of mothers and their children is needed to explore further what happens to these families post-release. My contact with participants post-release from the MBU was limited to two visits and during these, I felt from participants stories that aspects of this reintegration experience had considerable impact on their long-term wellbeing. I suggest that studies covering a longer post-release period could be a worthy focus for future research projects.

As demonstrated in every aspect of this social work research, openness and honesty were qualities of my relationship with participants that facilitated the telling of in-depth stories. The depth of this relationship and this close positioning in my role as researcher to participants, was understood to add value and contribute to the authenticity and genuineness of the accounts that were offered. The ease at which mothers conversed and appeared relaxed in our conversations reflected in the detailed stories and range of topics they felt comfortable to share. This style of research reflects a feminist approach focusing on relationships with participants and

valuing their perspectives (Harms, 2007). Although the boundaries of my relationship with participants was a constant consideration and was touched on in Chapter Six when discussing my approach to data collection, this style of research offered an empowering opportunity for incarcerated mothers to share their worthy, valued and valid experiences.

Given the proportion of women in this study identifying as Māori (five out of the 12 original participants identified as Māori), researching as a Pākehā researcher meant considerable attention was paid to the way in which this study demonstrated a decolonising approach. Critical feminist theorist, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), in her critique of dominant research methodologies argues that the term research is "inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (p. 3). Bringing an awareness of these cross-cultural limitations to this research meant critical understanding of my own underlying assumptions and values that informed this research. In doing this, I was constantly open to expanding my own knowledge, engaging with the perspectives of participants in an effort to learn from their experiences. Although the introductory chapters of this thesis took a broad focus, taking into account the impact of wider social determinants of colonisation, historical gender disadvantage and traditional Māori whanau, one of the most significant features of this research was the emphasis placed on building relationships and whanaungatanga. This was demonstrated in the reciprocal nature of connections made with participants that were solid enough to remain intact from prison and out into the community, as participants felt comfortable to share their own personal stories and reintegration journey.

In addition to this, it is recognised that the approach of this research may have been strengthened by further in-depth attention paid to the macro level of systems thinking. Broader systemic and structural considerations could have provided further context around experiences of disadvantage, poverty, inequality and intergenerational trauma faced by indigenous Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, research informed by Kaupapa Māori principles would also have been useful. The inclusion of a systematic ongoing process of consultation with both Māori and Pasifika, as suggested by Smith (2012), would have strengthened the

cultural lens adopted in this research. Future research about mothers and babies in New Zealand prisons should include consideration of a kaupapa Māori methodology, or include more rigorous involvement and consultation throughout the research.

Furthermore, in light of the findings and the success of Kowhiritanga, this could be a future focus for further research. Cross-cultural consideration is inherent in the very nature of this work, with people in prison often at the intersection of many different forms of oppression. Furthermore, mothers' illustrations of whānaungatanga, whānau, aroha, and mana, are just some of the concepts woven throughout this research contributing to the meaningful cultural relevance evident in mothers' telling their stories.

Research Questions and Responses

This research sought to convey better understanding of the experiences of incarcerated mothers who were part of the MBU in New Zealand women's prisons between 2012 and 2015. In particular, my aim was to identify features contributing to relationship development between these mothers and their children, and explore environmental, social and cultural influences both in prison and while reintegrating. The findings of this study address the following research questions proposed at the beginning of this thesis.

- **How was involvement in the Mothers with Babies Unit experienced by the mothers as a result of the change in legislation allowing children to remain in prison with them until two years of age (Department of Corrections, 2008)?**

This question framed my research and informed my research methodology. Legislation introduced in New Zealand in 2008 made provision for children under the age of two to remain in the care of their incarcerated mothers. At the outset of this study I intended to explore the experiences of a group of mothers who, because of

this legislation, where able to reside with their child within an MBU. As this group of mothers were those that lived within the MBU program, it was felt that their stories were valuable and important to hear.

My findings suggested an amount of ambivalence in the responses of participants to the MBU environment. Most mothers spoke of their appreciation for the opportunity to be with their child and valued the time they spent together as contributing towards their relationship development. While mothers were grateful for this opportunity, they made comments that they were "bored" and had nothing to do as having their child with them in prison limited their access to educational courses. Although the organisation of the MBU seemingly offered mothers independence and freedom to parent, mothers commented on feeling confined and restricted in their role and shared the struggles they experienced in determining their parental positioning while managing their identity as a prisoner. Some mothers spoke positively of relationships with staff and other mothers they valued, and drew support from them when they faced challenges within this restricted context. Although favourable relationships with staff were indicated by participants, they equally spoke of the negotiations they faced with officers when participants found it difficult to differentiate their role between custodial staff and parenting support. Although mothers commented that living in close confinements developed meaningful relationships between inmates, they also experienced this as a competitive environment within which to parent, with participants comparing themselves as mothers to each other. Most participants spoke favourably on the provision they experienced in the MBU, commenting on features of structure, shelter and security providing an amount of comfort and reassurance. However, problematic for some participants was the contrasting environment they experienced upon release from the MBU.

- **What aspects of the MBU environment influenced the development of a relationship between a mother and her child?**

The impact of the MBU environment on the development of the mother-child relationship has been highlighted throughout this thesis. Mothers described how

they sought to manage their parenting responsibilities within a system of restrictions and custodial regulations and how this contributed to their opportunity to bond with their baby. The ambiguous nature of the environment, as highlighted above, impacted on the development of the mother-child relationship. In addition, the unit's spatial, temporal and social features at times constrained mother-child bonding. Restrictions on movement, limits to exploration, and the constant presence of the mother all had the potential to influence healthy detachment. Equally, these features also enhanced relationship development between the mother and the child with more time spent together, reading, playing and noticing milestones. Routine and structure resulted in mothers commenting favourably on their ability to parent when in the MBU. Mothers remarked that this quality time spent together in the MBU was often in contrast to the busy lives they led outside of prison. Certain prison procedures and processes were also found to potentially interrupt the development of the maternal bond. For example, according to the mothers' accounts, arrest, birth, waiting times for MBU applications and approvals, parole outcomes, and removals of children while in the MBU were all highlighted as significantly stressful events with the potential to impact the relationship development of the mother-child.

Relationship development with family/whānau on the outside was also key to the wellbeing of the mother and the child. Accounts highlighted how the nature of the at-times crowded and noisy, visiting spaces for the families coming into the MBU, or the fact that the MBU was too far for family members to visit, meant developing relationships between the child and other family members could also be affected.

- **How did mothers experience their transition back into the community and what aspects of their MBU experience influenced their reintegration?**

Participants' experiences in the period following release from prison were mixed. Most participants commented favourably on the structure, security and shelter afforded to them in prison. Certain mothers found this preferable to the conditions they faced when they returned to their communities. Some mothers also missed the deep connections they made with other inmates and at times some staff members

when in the MBU. Mothers in this research project who returned to prison post-release were those who had limited personal skills and who lacked family and adequate social and economic support. What became evident was that mothers who maintained connections to whanau, and who had supportive community networks both inside and outside of prison, were able to more successfully manage on their release. Most participants felt overwhelmed by life outside of the unit immediately post-release. Additionally, some mothers struggled to engage with agencies, and family supports. My research found that establishing quality relationships prior to release with key agencies had a significant influence on a mother's ability to successfully reintegrate and function when back in the community.

Concluding Thoughts

A systems perspective has been used throughout this thesis to illustrate the significance of the connectedness and interrelatedness of systems, and the influence of this on a mother's experience of incarceration. The mothers who took part in this study were typically grateful to have had the chance to remain with their child when incarcerated. What became apparent was that, for most participants, remaining together with their child was the ultimate objective. The conditions facilitating this were a secondary consideration of being able to spend time and bond with their baby. Even when faced with distressing experiences and adversity within the unit, mothers commented that they would do it again in order to be with their baby.

My conclusions from conducting this research lead me to suggest that the current provision of the MBU may be enhanced through implementing the principles of a therapeutic community. This framework may provide elements that contribute to the wellbeing of a mother and her child: learning useful life skills, developing supportive relationships with family and whānau, and establishing community networks when in prison. Through implementing a TC model, the MBU could further promote the development of mother-child bonding and attachment, and facilitate relationships with family/whānau that are critical to the beginning of a child's life. Connecting supportive relationships between the mother and child and those outside of the prison may enable more mothers to successfully transition back into

society. Consideration of these recommendations based on the results of this research may help to optimise the current provision to produce better pro-social outcomes for mothers who are part of this programme. In this way, the TC model addresses many of the Department of Corrections practice values, and specifically, that of Whānau (Relationships) with its focus to "develop supportive relationships" (Department of Corrections, 2019e).

The recommendations within this thesis developed from listening to accounts of women who have lived in an MBU. I am privileged to have been told these stories and acknowledge the responsibility I have to help the women's voices be heard. It is my hope that this research will contribute to the Department of Corrections' continuing endeavour to enhance the programmes they conduct in order to improve the lives of these vulnerable offenders and of the babies they bring with them into the prison. I believe the insights described in this thesis could facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the MBU, in particular by pointing to a future in which incarcerated mothers have a more secure relationship with their child as well as successfully return to their community. The significance of this may be in providing mothers with the opportunity while in the MBU to develop self-determination and increase their confidence to be able to continue life outside to provide for themselves and their children. It may also increase emphasis on the significance of whānau remaining connected and supporting individuals to remain crime free. By providing for mothers to be with their child, they have the opportunity to be the mother they said they wanted to be.

> Cause she is my only child you know and I simply want to keep her safe. (Carrie)

Appendix (1) Application for fulltime care of a child in a self-care unit

M.03.04.Form.01 Application for fulltime care of a child in a self-care unit

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

Section 1: Prisoners Personal Details

Surname

First name

Date of birth | Current age | Classification | PRN

Prison | Unit | Cell

Application for fulltime care of a child (under 24 months of age) in a self-care unit.

Date of Application

Home address: (Prior to custody)

(street)

(suburb)

(town / city) (postcode)

Release address: (where different from above)

(street)

(suburb)

(town / city) (postcode)

Section 2: Type of Application

From the three boxes below, please tick the box that best applies to your application:

- ☐ I am currently pregnant and wish to care for my child in prison once they are born.
- ☐ I have a child (or children) who is / are under 24 months old who I wish to care for in prison
- ☐ I am currently pregnant and wish to care for my child in prison once they are born AND I have a child (or children) who is / are under 24 months old who I wish to care for in prison.

Please note: If you apply to care for your child (or children) in a self-care unit and your application is declined, you may be asked if you would like to have time with your child (or children) in a Feeding and Bonding facility.

Section 3: Additional Information

What are you current release plans? Where do you think you will be living when you leave prison?

Why do you want your child to live with you in prison?

Is there any other relevant information you think we should know when considering your application?

(Prisoner's name)

Signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / ____
(Prisoner)

(Social Worker's name)

Signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / ____
(Social Worker)

Appendix (2) Parenting Agreement

M.03.04.Form.02 Parenting Agreement

Agreement for fulltime care of a child (up to 24 months of age) in a self-care unit.

Note: Arohata Prison can only accommodate the placement of children up to 9 months old within that facility.

Agreement between

_____ (Prison Director)

and

_____ (Prisoner)

regarding the care of

_____ (Child)

Corrections' recognises the importance of maintaining parent – baby relationship, especially when a very young child is involved. Female prisoners are able to care for their young babies up to 24 months of age in prison.

Provision is being made for your baby to live with you in prison, as it is currently considered to be in the best interests of the baby and the management and security of the prison is not threatened.

The placement of your child in custody is subject to the following conditions:

1. **You are subject to all other prison rules, regulations and routines including visits, searching and drug testing.**
2. You are responsible for the care for your child, and assume full responsibility for the child's care and safety while they are placed with you in prison.
3. You will meet the cost of providing formula or food items for your child. You may seek to purchase items such as furniture, linen, clothes, or toys, or to have them sent into the prison. It is your responsibility to ensure that all items adhere to the manufacturers safety standards.
4. The Prison Director or their delegate may, in the interests of security, good order or management, or in an emergency situation make arrangements to remove your child from the prison. You are required to identify suitable alternative caregivers who can care for your child. Arrangements for the child's care with the alternative caregivers nominated by you will be made.
5. You are responsible for the health and development of your child. The Department will assist you to consult with medical practitioners / Maternal & Child Health Nurses as required. Should you have any concerns about your child's health or welfare, you should immediately report these to the unit PCO.
6. The placement of your child in the self-care unit will be monitored and reviewed by the Prison Director (or their delegate). The continued appropriateness of the placement will be discussed at any review, and a determination made as to whether it is in the best interest of your child to remain with you in the prison.
7. Children can only reside at the prison until they reach twenty-four months of age.
8. If you child needs to leave prison before your release, you will be required to participate in planned separation / transition plans.
9. Your child may be removed from the prison as a consequence of a disciplinary offence against you where your behaviour is deemed to be a risk to your child or the safe functioning of the unit.
10. Your child will be removed from the prison:
    - if the placement is deemed to no longer be in the best interests of your child
    - if you are not complying with the conditions specified in this Parenting Agreement
    - if the Courts rule that alternative custody arrangements have been made for your child.
11. You will be required to participate in any programmes identified in your offender plan.
12. You will be required to participate in any parenting education programmes specified.

13. You will be required to comply with the conditions attached to your application by the Prison Director, and with any court and / or the Oranga Tamariki – Ministry for Children services conditions attached to the care of you child.
14. The Department of Corrections will support you to care appropriately for your child by:
    - providing you with access to parenting information, education and support
    - facilitating your child's access to health care services
    - assisting you to access treatment or counselling services required to support you to fulfil your parenting responsibilities.
15. You have nominated the following person / people to provide care for your child:
    - in the event of a planned or emergency separation
    - during those times the baby is outside the prison for family visits.
16. The approval of your nominated caregiver is subject to the Prison Director being satisfied that they are a suitable person to care for the child, and only after they:
    - have been reviewed by Oranga Tamariki, and
    - have been approved to visit a prison, and
    - they have a significantly close association with you and your baby (i.e. family member).

    All approved outings will only occur if both you and the prison management agree.

Alternative Caregiver:

Surname _____

First name _____

Relationship _____

Contact phone number(s) _____

Address

_____ (street)

_____ (suburb)

_____ (town / city) _____ (postcode)

The prisoner before me make the acknowledgement below after I had: (Tick as applicable)

☐ Been informed by her that she has read the above agreement

☐ Read the agreement to her

☐ Had the agreement translated to her.

Name of Translator: _____

_____ (Prisoner's name)

signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / ____
(Prisoner)

_____ (Prison Director's name)

signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / ____
(Prison Director)

Appendix (3) Ethics Committee Approval

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2012/23

30 April 2012

Jacqueline Johnson
Department of Social & Political Sciences
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Jacqueline

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Narratives of woman who have resided in Mothers and Babies units in women's prisons in New Zealand: outcomes, impacts and meaning making" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 23 April 2012.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

Michael Grimshaw
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

Appendix (4) Guidelines for researchers working with prisoners

Guidelines for researchers working with prisoners

Section 1. Issues and Rationale for Guidelines

Despite the potential benefits, research by external agencies involving prisoners raises a number of issues that require careful management:

- research involving prisoners places potentially significant demands upon unit managers and custody staff, which may be resented
- the researcher's requirements may also be overly burdensome for prisoners, potentially disrupting their routines, and instilling resistance to being involved in any further research
- the issue of informed consent is somewhat fraught in a custodial setting: prisoners asked to participate as research subjects may falsely assume that some disadvantage could ensue if they decline to participate, or that they should or will receive some personal advantage if they do volunteer
- much offending-related research touches on emotionally charged issues and has the potential to adversely affect the well-being and stability of prisoners who participate; this in turn may have serious consequences for the institution and the sentence planning process for prisoners
- researchers may convey ideas, in the conduct of their research, which don't accord with the concepts promoted by the Department; this could potentially result in prisoners' resistance to Department sponsored programmes and activities and/or feelings that are difficult for all concerned to manage
- research entails considerations of privacy and confidentiality; it may create "duty to inform" situations, an issue of critical importance in prison settings
- researchers can encounter personal risks in their face-to-face contact with prisoners
- there is a danger that researchers may unwittingly compromise custodial security in their dealings with prisoners, or put at risk the institution's rehabilitative or reintegrative programmes.

To deal with some of the above concerns, external researchers are required to provide detailed information about the nature of their research, profiles of the researchers and the logistical requirements of the project as they relate to prisons. This information is supplied to the Senior Policy Adviser (Evaluation) who acts as the initial interface between researchers and the Prison Service.

External researchers are further required to make a declaration to adhere to certain conditions while working in a prison setting. These conditions are outlined below. The last condition requires that the researchers have read and understand the safe working practice guidelines detailed on pages 3-4.

Sally Faisandier sally.faisandier@corrections.govt.nz Direct dial (04) 460 3087
Strategy, Policy and Planning, Department of Corrections
Level 11 Mayfair House, 44-52 The Terrace, Private Box 1206, Wellington 6140

Section 2. Researcher Declaration

In conducting research with prison prisoners, I_____, agree to the following:

1. I will ensure that informed consent is properly gained from each participant.
2. I will ensure participant confidentiality; in particular, I will not divulge the names or personal details of any prisoner with whom I have contact, to any person not authorised to have this information. I will take all reasonable steps to ensure the security and confidentiality of all data collected by me.
3. I will abide by the following security rules in my contact with prisoners:
    - I will not bring with me into the institution any drug, alcohol, cell phone, or any thing that could be used as a weapon
    - I will not provide, give, or offer to bring to the institution, any thing for any prisoner
    - I will not accept, or agree to take out of the institution, any thing from any prisoner
    - I will not perform any personal request made of me by a prisoner (e.g., pass on a message to a partner)
    - I will not allow the telephone provided for my use to be used by a prisoner (if a prisoner is left alone in the interview room, the telephone must be removed)
    - I will not divulge to prisoners any personal information other than what is appropriate for interview purposes (e.g., my name, my employer)
    - I will not elicit any information from prisoners other than that directly required for the research project
    - I will at all times take every practical step to ensure my personal safety, including ensuring that staff know where I am at all times when on prison property
    - my behaviour and style of dress will be professional and appropriate at all times
    - if a prisoner becomes abusive, aggressive, or overly distressed, I will terminate the interview as quickly as is safe to do so, and immediately report my observations to the unit's officer in charge
    - I will immediately communicate to the officer in charge any other concerns I may have about a prisoner (e.g., risk of self-harm, threats to others), and will report any communications or incident between myself and prisoners relating to any of the above.
4. I have read, understand, and will comply with, the principles outlined ***Section 3. Safe Working Practices in Interview Situations.***

Signed: _____ Date:_____

Section 3. Safe Working Practices in Interview Situations

Guidelines regarding safe working practices are included as common sense precautionary measures to safeguard the well-being of researchers and prisoners. Assaults and extreme threats to researchers in New Zealand prisons are highly unlikely - there have been no such incidents on recent record. However, some level of risk is inevitable in a prison context and it is advisable for all those working in prison settings to take reasonable precautions.

The Department of Corrections therefore requires that external researchers read these guidelines and formally indicate that they have understood the issues and strategies described in this document. If researchers have further questions or concerns, they should discuss these with the Senior Policy Adviser (Evaluation) before signing the declaration.

General

1. Evaluate all prisoners' potential for upset or violence before interviewing them. Do this first by asking the advice of unit staff: *"Does N seem up to participating in this interview? Is there anything that I should know?"* If these enquiries generate any cause for concern, do not proceed with the interview. Ask staff to indicate if the problem is temporary, and if so, whether it is possible to try again to interview the prisoner later in the day or week.
2. Where possible, arrange for an officer to remain in close proximity to the interview room. If this is not possible, ask for a personal alarm before starting the interviews. It is not advisable to rely on duress alarms in interview rooms. If you feel there is any risk of hostile or aggressive behaviour as an interview proceeds, stop the interview immediately.
3. Unless prior approval has been obtained from the Operations Manager, no interview is to be conducted outside of normal working hours, or when there are no staff working in reasonable proximity to the interview room.
4. Where possible, arrange the interview room seating in a manner that permits either person to leave the room without having to go around the other. If that is not possible, then ensure you are closest to the exit.
5. Ensure there are no objects accessible or visible that could be used as a weapon (scissors, paper knife, umbrella, etc).
6. Ensure that prisoners are not left waiting for extended periods, as this may fuel anger.
7. After the prisoner enters the room, check that the door is not locked on the inside.
8. At all times, ensure that staff know where you are.

Managing potentially violent situations

1. Remember, the paramount goal is to preserve your own safety.
2. Be alert to precursors to violence – violence rarely erupts without some warning:

posture	*sitting or standing rigid; clenched jaw or fists; gripping armrests; face flushed*
speech	*loud, strident; abusive; making threats or giving warnings (e.g., "I'm getting pissed off with this", "I don't want to talk about it", "You are really making me mad")*
motor activity	*pacing; restless; hyperactive; trembling*

3. Try to stay calm and in control of your own feelings. Use coping self-talk (*"I can manage this situation, I know what to do"* or *"help is close at hand"*, etc).
4. Model calmness:
   - voice even, moderate volume, slow speech, frequent pauses
   - relaxed facial expression
   - arms relaxed at sides, not crossed, hands open
   - minimal gestures, slow movements
   - sit rather than stand.
5. Immediately drop the subject under discussion, and move to stop the interview.
   - *"Let's take a break, it seems I have upset you. Maybe we could arrange to finish this interview later or another day, if you want?"*
   - You are <u>not</u> a therapist or a social worker. Don't make the error of thinking, *"I'll change tack…I'm sure he'll calm down"*, or *"I need to press on and get these interviews done"*.
6. If your attempt to finish the interview is clearly failing you have the option of:
   - saying clearly, *"I am going to leave the room now so you can calm down"*
   - use your personal alarm.

   After leaving the room, staff should be summonsed immediately.
7. If it appears that self defence techniques may be necessary, mentally rehearse what you will do (e.g., fingers in eyes, knee in groin, etc).
8. If an assault commences:
   - (if possible) use your personal alarm or the duress button in the room
   - call loudly for help
   - use self defence techniques

Appendix (5) Department of Corrections Policy: Effectiveness for Māori Guide

Effectiveness for Māori Guide

To succeed overall, we must succeed for Māori offenders. Approximately half of all offenders dealt with by the Department are Māori. In order for the Department to be effective, Māori must be considered in every piece of work it produces.

STAGE ONE: Define desired outcomes: What are you trying to achieve?	**STAGE TWO:** Identify problems and issues: How does this work impact on Māori?	**STAGE THREE:** Consider options and Develop solutions	**STAGE FOUR:** Implementation	**STAGE FIVE:** Monitor and evaluate
> How can the Department's outcomes of improving public safety through: – reducing re-offending and – ensuring sentence compliance, be furthered by your work? > Can your objective be defined so that it incorporates desired outcomes for Māori? Eg this piece of work aims to reduce Māori re-offending by...	> Does the work deal with a certain group of offenders (eg violent and disruptive)? How are Māori represented within this group? Are they over represented? Under represented? Why might this be? > Can the question/ problem be reframed so that the underlying causes of any differences will be taken into account and ensure that issues for Māori offenders will be addressed in the process? > Have you used an evidence-based approach? This is an approach combining best available research evidence with relevant empirical evidence to aid in decision making. The Māori Strategic Plan provides a useful source of statistics.	**Have you considered the Māori perspective?** > How could involvement of Māori (staff, communities, organisations, groups, iwi, CEMAG) add to, improve, or inform the work in some way? Who might you need to talk to? (See Consultation Guide below). > Have any Māori concepts been considered in relation to your work relating to Māori offenders? > Would a Māori-specific approach get a better result here? > Could involvement of whānau be relevant here? **Deciding what is likely to work** > Will your options impact positively or negatively on Māori offenders? > What steps can be taken to reduce/eliminate negative impacts and maximise positive outcomes for Māori? > Can potential benefits to Māori be demonstrated? If so, are there any disadvantages? > How can the work be designed to further the Department's outcomes for Māori? > What programmes and/or initiatives does the Department already have that could be used or modified to meet the needs of Māori in relation to this piece of work? > Are specific approaches needed to ensure the needs of different groups of Māori are met? *(For eg think about MOP/MOU partners, offenders of different ages, kaitiaki, other relevant Māori groups, Māori staff, offenders managed by CPPS, offenders managed by PS).* > Who will you need to get feedback from? > How is this work consistent with the Department's obligations to the Treaty related principles of: active protection (the obligation to protect the authenticity of Māori culture when it is used in the treatment of offenders); and partnership (the obligation to make informed decisions on all matters affecting the interests of Māori based on formalised partnerships between the Department andMāori communities)?	> How will staff and offenders know about any Māori specific changes to services, policies or programmes? > Will the service/ programme be accessible to different groups of Māori? (For eg think about differences in implementation for offenders of different ages, CPPS or PS, male or female)	> How will we know whether this piece of work is working or not working for Māori? > Are there monitoring systems in place which collect data about how the policy/service/ programme has impacted on Māori offenders?

Consultation with Māori

Consultation is more than information sharing. Consultation is formally inviting feedback from others on your work. Any feedback provided must be actively considered in regard to whether any changes are necessary. You may wish to consult other departmental staff and, in some cases, key external stakeholders. You may wish to consult others during the development stages, or on final recommendations. The consultation process will vary depending on the nature of your work.

It is important that any consultation with Māori is relevant and appropriate to the size and scale of the piece of work.

> Prison or CPPS area issues should be subject to ongoing consultation in the normal context of the relationship. Certainly, at the new facilities, kaitiaki input on operational matters should be routinely sought and provided through standard interface channels.

A major and long term piece of work (for example, the reintegration review) will require wide, early consultation. Such major pieces of work may allow for funding to be allocated for one or more hui. At this level, the Māori Services Team may be able to assist with engagement of partners.

For work with shorter timeframes, time needs to be allowed in the paper/ proposal development process to provide reasonable opportunity for partners/ kaitiaki/networks to provide written input. This may occur during the normal consultation processes undertaken for papers.

Where the balance lies between these two extremes will be a judgment call and may need to involve the responsible GM.

The following is a basic guide to the consultation process.

> Discuss the proposal with others who may be able to help you list the Māori parties to consult.

> Prepare consultation material such as:
  - a brief written description of your idea/proposal
  - a tentative assessment of potential effects or outcomes for Māori
  - if necessary, measures you would propose to address the extent or impact of those effects.

> Consult with identified persons and groups.

> Arrange further information and meetings as necessary.

> The nature and extent of consultation that has occurred should be made clear in the final paper.

Also, consider whether the Department has existing agreements or relationships with Māori groups that will be affected by, or aid in your work. If yes, or you are unsure, discuss your work with the Manager Māori Relationships in the appropriate region.

Glossary of terms used

Kaitiaki – Kaitiaki are the group most closely associated to the land on which new Corrections facilities are being built.

Tikanga – Meaning behind an action (or set of actions); correctness; customary practice.

MOP partners/ MOU partners – Memorandum of Partnerships (MOPs) partners/ Memorandum of Understanding partners – those Māori groups with which the Department has a formal partnership agreement.

CEMAG – Chief Executive's Māori Advisory Group – a group of Māori community leaders that provide direct advice and feedback to the Chief Executive on matters pertaining to Māori.

Appendix (6) Personal Introductory Letter

College of Arts

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UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

My name is Jacqui Johnson and I am currently interested in doing some research with the University of Canterbury in Christchurch. I am a mother myself to 3 keen boys, which makes the topic of my research all the more passionate for me.

As you are the first group of mothers to participate in the Mothers and Babies Unit (MBU) that allows you to have your child with you up until the age of two years, I would like to invite you to participate.

When was the last time someone asked you what **you** thought? What I am really interested in is finding out about **your** experience within the MBU, what **you** have found to be helpful or difficult, and what **you** might be able to share about your journey through the MBU for you and your child. Corrections are very much interested in this research, the purpose of which will be in an effort to help other mothers, following on from you in the MBU, able to make their time with their children a rewarding one.

Through this research, I would like to get to know you and get to know your story. It is my passion for this research to be a means by which women's stories can be told, highlighting experiences of having their child with them in prison, and their journey of release and back into the community.

This research will be a story of what is told to me. Participants names will not be used anywhere in the work. I am hoping that participants feel a sense of ownership over what is produced. The interviews and transcripts you provide will always be made available for you to review and make changes to.

Thank you for taking time to read this introductory letter. I will be holding a recruitment meeting towards the end of June that I invite you to attend, in order for us to meet and answer any questions or feedback that you may have. Attendance to this meeting will in no way commit you to the proposed research. You are able to decide from there if you want to take part. If you have any further queries, or additional questions before the recruitment meeting, please feel free to contact me via your case worker. I look forward to the possibility of meeting you in the near future.

This research is supervised Dr Annabel Taylor, 03 3642444 or Annabel.Taylor@canterbury.ac.nz. The project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee and the Department of Corrections. This PhD is a public document and will be made available via the University of Canterbury library database.

Kia ora
Jacqui Johnson

Appendix (7) Information Brief

College of Arts

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INFORMATION BRIEF

You are invited to participate in this research that aims to present the narratives of women who have resided in Mothers and Babies Units (MBU) in women's prisons in New Zealand.

What I would like to do is to spend time with participants within prison and also when they journey back into the community, to discover what social and environmental factors contribute to the long term well being of mother and child.

Your involvement in this project will be in a series of three informal interviews where we will talk in-depth about your experiences at the time, within the MBU or in the community. The times that these interviews will take place are two weeks before you are released, six weeks after you have been released and six months after you have been released.

Interviews will be audio recorded, however you are able to ask for this not to be used at any time. You will have the opportunity to review your transcript of the interview material and will be able to make any changes you feel necessary at that stage. Upon completion of all interviews, participants will be provided with a summary of research results.

You will have the right to withdraw from the project at any time; including withdrawal of any information provided which will in no way compromise your involvement with the Mother and Baby Unit. Your decision to participate or not, or whether you decide to withdraw from the research after agreeing to participate, will in no way have any impact on your release date or any provisions made for you after release towards reintegration.

In taking part in this research, emotions may arise and you may feel that you might need to talk to someone further about this. This will be discussed with you and arrangements made for post interview follow up with someone that you choose and trust.

Confidentiality will be ensured throughout the research. Names will not be used at any point when recording interviews. Any identifiable references contained within the final report will be changed. Audio tapes and transcriptions of interviews will remain the property of the researcher, and stored in a way that ensures the researcher sole access to this material. This will be in a locked filing cabinet in a locked facility. Password protected computers and USB devices will be used. All data and associated research will be securely stored for 10 years at the University and then destroyed.

Should any information come up in the interview where someone is likely to be harmed, this may have to be taken further by the researcher.

Appendix (8) Participant Consent Form

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CONSENT FORM

Narratives of women who have resided in Mothers and Babies Units in women's prisons in New Zealand: outcomes, impacts and meaning making.

I have read the information sheet provided for this project. I understand that:

- I do not have to take part if I do not want to
- I can withdraw from the project and any information provided at any time
- My name will not appear on anything I say, or that is produced from this project
- I agree to the use of material provided in any of the personal communications I might have with the researcher
- This consent form and what I say will be stored safely
- The results of this project will be used to inform further development of the MBU and the process of reintegration into the community
- I consent to a tape recording device to be used throughout the interviews, but understand that I can ask for this to be turned off at any time
- I understand that the disclosure of any information that may cause harm to myself or anyone else, **may** be taken further
- I understand that this research may be used in published work.

I understand this consent form and am happy to take part.

Signed:

Name: *{print}* Date:

Appendix (9) First Interview Guide

College of Arts

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UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

FIRST INTERVIEW GUIDE (Two weeks pre-release)

Name:

Prison:

Introduction

- Anything that I ask, I do not want you to feel obliged to have to answer
- I firstly want to recognise what you have achieved here in the MBU, by just taking part in this experience with your child is in itself a great accomplishment
- What I am passionate about and really interested in is **your story** and what I am able to learn from you and through **your experiences**, in the hopes of being able to pass on information that may help the Department understand the MBU program and assist them to make decisions that will help women coming through the MBU after you. This makes your input here incredibly important and my conversation with you incredibly valuable. You have the ability to be able to help future women and their children in the MBU, which is a meaningful and significant contribution.
- This exercise may also help you make sense of your experience within the MBU, and I am here to help you with that in any way that I can.
- What I would like us to be is honest with each other from the start, however I am only able to show you **my** honest and transparent approach and you must decide on yours, which may happen over time. But firstly, I would like for you to let me know if you feel uncomfortable about anything that we talk about and feel free not to answer anything that you do not feel you want to. This is **your** story and it is to be told however **you** want it to be.
- Also, sometimes when talking for this amount of time about things, it is good to talk to someone else and we can talk about this more as we go. But do have a think, if at any stage you would like to talk to someone else, who this might be and I will

endeavour to try and make arrangements for this to happen. It might be a good friend in here, a trusted member of staff?

- What I also feel is most important to understand is that our communication lines will always be open as long as we are both involved in this research. After our lengthy discussions you may have afterthoughts or things may arise for you that you wish to let me know about. While in prison, you will be able to notify your case worker, who will let me know and I will arrange contact with you. When in the community, this may be through Communtiy Probations or another community agency that you nominate as a point of contact. So there will be ways for you to be able to contact me at any stage. Also importantly, there may be things that you do not feel you can talk to me directly about and may choose to tell a trusted person who will also be able to make contact with me, on your behalf.

- I am happy to firstly introduce myself, and answer any questions that you may like to ask of me.....

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Which ethnic group do you identify with?

2. Which age group are you?

   15-19
   20-24
   25-29
   30-34
   35-39
   40-44
   45 and over

3. Is this your first time in the MBU? In prison?

4. Current term of imprisonment?

5. What was your living situation before coming to prison?

   Who were you living with?
   How many children and how old?
   Childcare arrangments?
   Partner or child's father?
   Significant family members?

6. Family situation while in the MBU?

   Care of other children?
   Family support?

7. Have any of your family members been in prison?

8. Release date? Term of imprisonment?

9. Age of child on release?

APPLICATION PROCESS

10. How did you first find out about the mothers and babies program?

11. What was so important to have your child with you in prison?

12. Tell me about the process that you went through to apply to have your child in here with you?

13. Was there an induction process?

Rules and regulations?
What was available to you?

EXPERIENCE IN THE MBU

14. Did you breast feed your child? How long?

Is this different to your other children?
If not breastfeeding, how was this viewed by the other prisoners and staff?

15. Describe the experience of your time in prison with your child in the MBU?

Hardest things?
Best things?

16. How has your experience of bonding with your child been in the MBU?

Is this different to your other children?

17. Has it been difficult to be the sole provider for your child in attending to them 24hr? Has it had an effect on them? *More clingy and needy?*

18. How has spending time in the unit, had an impact on your confidence of parenting and your abilities as a mother?

SUPPORTS IN THE MBU

19. How are you able to economically support yourself and your child here in prison?

20. Who or what has been the most supportive of you in the time you have spent with your child in prison?

21. What supports have you found you needed but were not available while being in the MBU with your child?

Access to courses?
Access to childcare?

22. In terms of day to day care, who are you able to call if you have concerns?

For your child? Medical care?
For you? Emotional support? Family concerns?

23. Do you feel that the MBU meets the needs of you and your child?

Social? Educational?Medical?

PROGRAMMING

24. Tell me about the programs that you took part in while being in the MBU?

Offending?
Parenting?
Childcare? (Brainwaves)
Other courses?

25. How were childcare commitments managed with these courses?

WORKING WITH FAMILIES

26. Are your families supportive of you having your child in here with you?

27. Do you have other children in your care and who is looking after them while you are in prison?

28. What sort of things happen to maintain family member and sibling involvement with you and your child?

Family days? Home leave?

29. Have you had any experiences while being in the MBU to facilitate your child's interaction with family and friends on the outside?

Parties? Pictures?

30. Have visits been difficult to manage?

Visiting times? Geographics? Time stretched between kids and adults? Conditions?

31. What process is taken to clear your alternate caregiver as a suitable person to be able to take your child?

RELEASE

32. Who has spoken to you about your plans for release and reintegration with child?

33. What process has been put in place to assist you with reintegrating and managing when you are released?

    Reintegrating plan?

34. How are you feeling about being released with your child? Who can you discuss with?

    Nervous? What are your worries?

35. Do you have any concerns about your child bonding with the rest of the family on release?

36. Do you have any concerns about your child reintegrating into the community?

37. What do you imagine life will be like for you and your child when you leave prison?

38. Do you feel equipped to be able to face the challengers that may arise in life on the outside? *Support system?*

39. How has being in the MBU made a difference to your time spent in prison?

FUTURE

40. Do you have any worries for your child in the future having spent their early time in prison?

41. What will keep you on the straight and narrow from here? What has made a difference?

42. What hopes and dreams do you have for you and your child now that you are being released?

43. Have you any ideas for improvements with the MBU? With preparation for reintegration?

Appendix (10) Post Release Consent Form

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CONSENT FORM FOR POST RELEASE CONTACT

- I give my permission for post release contact to be made with respect to this research. This may be done through my Probation Officer, or the following named person / people that are likely to know of my whereabouts:

1.

2.

3.

4.

- I understand that disclosure of criminal activity or the intent to commit criminal activity will be taken seriously and **may** be taken further
- I understand that the disclosure of any information that may cause harm to myself or anyone else, **may** be taken further.

I understand this consent form and am happy to take part.

Signed:

Name: *{print}* Date:

Appendix (11) Second Interview Guide

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SECOND INTERVIEW GUIDE (Six weeks post-release)

Name:

Location:

Release date?

Date today?

Pre Release

1. Describe that few days leading up to your release?

   Reintegration support?
   Arrangements?
   Support?

Release Day

2. Describe the day of release and an account of what happened that day? Talk me through the actual process of when you left prison with your child?

   Met by family? Left in a car? Had money with you?

3. What was that like seeing your daughter for the first time? Your family?

4. Was this a stressful day for you, reintegrating with a dependent child also with you?

   Who was your support for this?

5. How was life like in the early stages of you being released?

With your child?
With family members?
With relationships?
Has this changed as time went on?

6. Tell me about the difficulties that you first experienced when you were first released?

   Dependency on the institution?
   Routine instilled in prison life?
   People?
   Shopping?

7. How have you found the readjustment period for your child, having been the sole provider for your child while in the MBU?

   Clingy and needy?
   Childs reaction to others?
   Reaction to other family members?

Practical Environment

8. Financially how are you able to support yourself when you are just out of prison?

   Did you leave prison with money?
   Do you have access to money immediately?
   Are you able to contact WINZ pre release?
   Problems with obtaining benefit?
   Employment and child care?

9. Who were the key individuals or your support system that offered you help with reintegration?

   Agency?
   Probation?
   Family and friends?

10. Describe the living environment you are experiencing now that you have been released from prison and in the community?

    Who was in your household?
    Number of children?
    Ages of children?
    Childcare arrangements?
    Employed?
    Significant family members?

Emotional Environment

11. Has life changed for you from before you went to prison?

12. What have been the most challenging things that you have experienced?

13. What is the best part about being out of prison?

14. Has your post release experience been what you expected?

    Refer to what was outlined in previous interview for hopes and dreams?

15. Did you face stigmatisation or rejection from having spent time in prison with your child?

16. Do you find there are differences in the nature of your relationship with your child that was with you in the MBU as compared to your other children?

Reflecting

17. What skills do you feel you have brought with you from your time spent in the MBU?

18. Have any of these skills learnt in the MBU had an effect on how you parent your other children?

19. What do you feel you or your child need help with?

20. If you could see yourself and your child in 6 months from now, describe what that might look like?

    Five years?
    Ten years?

21. Where would you turn to for help if you needed that at this point?

22. Do you have any ideas for improvements with the MBU and assistance with reintegration?

Appendix (12) Third Interview Guide

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THIRD INTERVIEW GUIDE (Six months post-release)

Name:

Location:

1. Describe what life is like for you and your child today?
2. What are the most challenging areas of your life at present?
3. What do you think you are doing most well at?
4. What supports do you have in place for you and your child in the community?

   Interests?
   Networks?
   Clubs or groups?
   Agency Involvement?

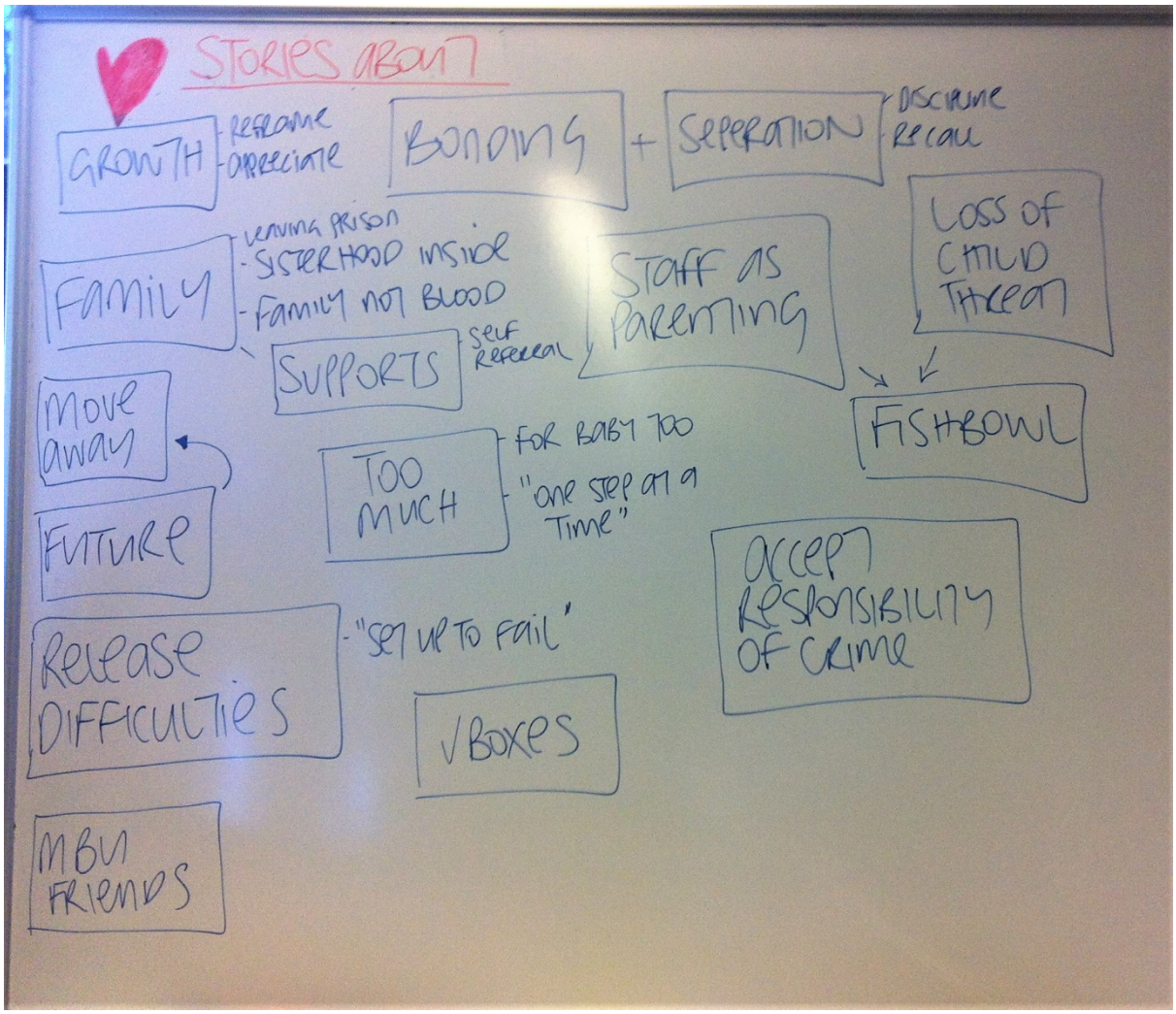
5. What do you feel you or your child need help with?
6. Who has been most significant in the life of you and your child?

   Family member, agency?

7. What skills have stuck with you that you can think were learnt in the MBU?
8. If you could see yourself and your child in two years from now, describe what that might look like?

   Five years?
   Ten years?

Appendix (13) Thematic Map Example



Appendix (14) Wahakura – Woven Sleeping Bassinet

GLOSSARY

The Māori terms listed below have been referred to in this thesis. The definitions have been sourced from Māoridictionary.co.nz.

Atua	Ancestor with continuing influence
Hapū	Kinship, clan, tribe or subtribe and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, race, often referring to a large group of people descending from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory
Karakia	Incantation, chant, prayer – a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity
Kaumatua	elder - a person of status within the whānau
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative.
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology or philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, kindness, generosity and support
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
Marae	The open area in front of the meeting house, where formal greetings and discussions take place.
Oriori	A lullaby or song composed on the birth of a chiefly child about their ancestry and tribal history
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand
Pakeke	Grown up, adult
Tapu	To be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden

Tamariki	Children
Taonga	Treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control and power
Ūkaipō	The mothers source of sustenance
Utu	Revenge, vengeance, retaliation, payback, retribution, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity - an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Māori society, whether through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups
Wahakura	A woven bassinet built around traditional Māori infant sleeping practice to reduce the risks associated with co-sleeping.
Wāhine	Women, female, lady, wife
Whaea	A mother or an aunt
Whakapapa	A set of relationships, conditional obligations and privileges that determine a sense of self wellbeing between whānau, hapu and iwi and the interconnectedness between whānau, hapu and iwi and the environment
Whānau	Extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members
Whānaungatanga	A relationship through shared experiences together providing people with a sense of belonging and family connection
Whāngai	Fostered, adoptive
Whenua	Land, country, nation or state

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